replies that there is nowhere he could hide from the persecution of his enemies. As a king, he must continue the struggle as a king, with whatever hope remained. By combining fragmentary sources, we can infer that not long after, news arrived of the assassination of Eucratides (allegedly by his own son) on a journey further north. Suddenly the coalition assembled against him evaporated, and Menander was enabled to return to his former territories, as the coin evidence suggests, and to reign again as king. Our fragmentary sources suggest that Menander was deeply revered by his subjects, and specially honoured at his death. A candidate, no doubt, for the status of philosopher king, his affection for the Buddhist religion is evident, and is confirmed by his appearance in a Buddhist scriptural text.

Nevertheless, in many ways, the epoch of the Indo-Greek kingdoms was an artificial one. The Greeks, for all their merits and attainments, were an offshoot of a remote civilization, which could give them little support, and found next to no echo in the hearts of the numerous Indic populations on which they were superimposed. It required no more than the appearance of a powerful military force pitted against them, and all the imposing apparatus of the Greeks, their fortified cities, cavalry armies, and cultural pretensions, would be swept away. So it befell, when in about 130 B.C., the two great Scythian confederacies, those of the Haumavarga and Tigrakhauda Scythians, were threatened with anihilation by the advancing Yueh-Chih tribes. These, having been expelled from Kansu by the Huns, burst into what is today Western Turkistan. The first Scythian group, that of the celebrated Maues, apparently the descendant of a long line of kings, traversed the Karakorum Range, and appeared at Taxila. The second broke through

the Bactrian defences on the Central Asian rivers, and descended on South Asia. They established a kingdom in Drangiana, the province ever thereafter known after the Scythians as Seistan, first under one Vonones. Later, apparently towards 57 B.C. under Azes, the first of his name, they quickly crushed the remaining Indo-Greek forces at Qandahar, and swept into the Punjab [SLIDE 25. Coin of Azes I]. Not for the last time in history, the "Āpakān", as this powerful group were named, escaped extinction against notionally superior forces through an astonishing display of impetuosity. We do not know where the final overthrow of the Greek armies took place, though Al-Bērūnī seems to place it on the River Lūnī near Dera Ismail Khan; and again, the recent great coin find at Mir Zakah, east of Gardez, could contain the nucleus of the Indo-Greek military imprests of that occasion.

On the other hand, the empire of the Indo-Scythians, as these forces are sometimes termed, was in its turn eventually to be overthrown. The "interitus Sacaraucarum", the destruction of the Sacaraucae or nomadic Scythians, took place, according to the Prologues of Pompeius Trogus, around the year A.D. 9. By this date, two more generations of the Scythian kingdom had passed, those of Azilises and Azes II. Probably the leading role in this reversal of fortunes was played by the Indo-Parthian prince known to us as Gondophares. This personage was apparently a member of the leading Parthian house of Suren, to whom the Arsacid kings had allotted the custody of their eastern border. To this family no doubt belonged the celebrated Iranian hero Rustam, who plays so prominent a role in the Persian national epic, the *Shāhnāma*. He was also the chief personality of the even older Seistan epic, the *Book of Garshasp*. The chronology, and identification of individuals is confused in the epic, but of the historical

Gondophares we know from the inscription of Takht-i Bahi that he had gained control of the city of Taxila by A.D. 20, and continued to reign until A.D. 46. This supports the tradition that St. Thomas, the Christian apostle to India, encountered Gondophares at Taxila shortly after the Crucifixion, an event usually dated to A.D. 29.

The next power to rise in the region was that of the Kushans, one of the five sections of the Yueh-Chih confederacy, who soon established their leadership over the others, and for two centuries from A.D 60 were to dominate the traffic along the Silk Route. I shall not discuss them or their spectacular coinage here, as they are the subject of a separate paper by a colleague, which we shall be hearing shortly. After a century, however, their state was weakened by the onset of a terrible epidemic, the so-called Plague of Marcus Aurelius, a visitation of smallpox which extended along the trade routes to the Roman Empire, Southern Arabia, and even to China, but had its focus in the Indian territories of the Kushans.

It was, therefore, a weakened Kushan state which was invaded by the energetic founder of the Sasanian Persian empire Ardashir I, who quickly reduced all its western territories "as far as Peshawar", in the words of the KZ inscription near Persepolis. Princes of the Sasanian royal house governing Kushanshahr, as the conquered lands were termed, soon became as powerful as the Persian King of Kings himself, and even sought to replace him. Hormizd, the ambitious brother of the Sasanian king Bahram II (A.D. 272-292) produced an impressive gold coinage [SLIDE 26: Hormizd Kush. scyphate] with Bactrian legends for his eastern ter-

ritories, claiming the pretentious title not of Kushanshah "King of the Kushans" but of Kushanshahanshah "Kushan King of Kings". This represented a direct challenge to his brother's supremacy. Coins with Pahlavi inscriptions [SLIDE 27:28: Hormizd Kush. drachma] were produced for cities apparently captured from the western kingdom, such as Marv and Herat. Eventually his bid for power was defeated, but the kingdom of the Kushanshahs lasted on for another century, until finally appropriated, together with the title, by Kidara, the chief of the invading Huns, the Chionites, in about A.D. 380.

At the beginning of the sixth century, another wave of Hunnish invaders appeared on the scene. These were the Hephthalites or White Huns, whose first noted ruler, Toramana, appears towards A.D. 510. Both he, and to an even greater extent, his successor Mihirakula, acquired a formidable reputation for cruelty, the latter being alleged to have derived pleasure from the terrified squeals of elephants which he caused to be forced over the precipices of Kashmir. These kings were followed by a succession of Hephthalite rulers, named on coins as Lakhana, Khingila and another known only by the title, with no personal name, of Purvaditya, who seems to have reigned shortly before A.D. 600. The Sasanian kings began to re-assert their control over Arachosia, but the sequence of events in that region becomes increasingly obscure. One series of coins bearing types similar to those of the Sasanian Khosrow II [SLIDE 29 30; coin of Mardanshah] show a series of enigmatic Pahlavi inscriptions, including the words **whmn mlt'n MLK'** *Wahman Mardānshāh*, which suggest that the coins could be linked to one of the Sasanian personages named Mardānshāh. The first of these was a general of Khosrow II who was indeed Governor of Sistan, but executed by Khosrow II shortly

before the latter's own death in A.D. 628. The second was a son of Khosrow II nominated as his successor, but put to death by his brother Sherwayh shortly after that event. The occurrence of either name on what are plainly coins of Arachosia seems unexpected, but a case could be made for a link with either.

Another example of a doubtful Arachosian coin again reflects Sasanian typology [SLIDE 31, 32: Varhatigin coin]. The Pahlavi inscriptions are in this case reasonably clear, to right **ḥptḥpt't** for the year 77, and to right the wording **Tkyn ḥwl's'n MLK'** *Tigīn Khurāsan Shāh* "Tigīn, King of Khurāsān". This is apparently the personage mentioned by al-Bērūnī as Varha-tigīn, first of the Turkish dynasty of the Kabul Shāhs. His use of the Turkish title Tigīn supports a Turkish identification. Presumably this ruler was the founder of the medieval city of Tigīnābād, memtioned in several sources, and identified with Qandahār. The date in a year 77 implies the use of an older era. If this were the regnal era of Khosrow II, whose types the coin imitates, the result of the calculation would be A.D. 667. This seems a very possible date for Varha-tigīn, though perhaps early. There are many other enigmatic issues of Arachosia which still require study, but analysis of an intact find would do much to clarify the sequence.

We have come now to the eve of Islam in the history of Afghanistan. As the conquerors of Sasanian Islam, it was natural that the Arabs would move into the great fortified towns which had been the focus of the Sasanian government there. Zaranj, near the Seistan Lake, was a ready-made *point d'appui* for the new arrivals. Bust, the great fortress, and fortified zone at the junction of the

Helmand and Arghandab rivers, was another essential strongpoint for an army on the march through a desert land. The city we today call Qandahar has a rather enigmatic history. In its earlier days, back in the time of Cyrus the Persian, it seems hardly to have had a name at all, beyond that of its province, Arachosia. Under the Greeks it seems to have ranked as an Alexander-foundation, Alexandria or Alexandropolis according to the informant. For the Sasanians, in the form of the name **LHWT** *Ruxwat* "Arachosia", the name of the province was back again. Was the Shahr-i Kuhneh inhabited during Arab times? The Arab mints of Sijistān, Zaranj, and Bust, are well attested, but Tigīnābād appears, I believe, only on one rare Ghaznavid coin, with nothing to tell whether it is at Qandahar or somewhere else.

There are interesting problems concerned with the early Islamic coinage of Seistan. There used to occur, in the south of the country, a series of rather obscure, base silver coins [SLIDE 33: duriba bi-Zaranj] bearing a crude imitation of the Sasanian types of Khosrow II. These were known to numismatists as "the Sijistan barbarous series". Some specimens have an inscription in the margin, giving the mint formula *ḍuriba bi-Zaranj* "struck at Zaranj", but others had no such inscription. When I visited Bust in 1969, I was told that cultivators working with tractor ploughs were digging up numbers of these types, and was asked to identify them. I was able to photograph several of the coins, and one specially attracted my attention [SLIDE 34: Tamīm b. Sa'īd]. Here, in the first quarter of the margin, one could read the name Tamīm b. Sa'īd. This was an 'Abbasid governor appointed to Seistan, according to the *Tārīkh-i Sīstān*, from 22nd Safar 169H, who resided first at Zaranj, and later at Bust. Since he was superseded in Dhī al-

Ḥijjah of the same year, all his coins must fall within 169H, which gives an exact date, and places this series under the 'Abbasid governors in the second Muslim century. Other specimens [SLIDE 35: Jarrāḥ and Yazīd] give the name of Jarrāḥ, who was Jarrāḥ b. Ziyād b. Hammām, joint governor in Seistan in about 155H. The accompanying coin has the name of Yazīd. However, since the TS lists fourteen personages of the name Yazīd, it is not entirely clear which was involved. However the most probable was Yazīd b. Mazyad, who performed deeds of note against the Khawārij, and was acclaimed as governor in 155H. Further study is needed to establish the identity of this Yazīd

Clearly, analysis of these minor coins, evidently of the 'Abbasid governors of Bust, would provide a useful series, but we need follow them no further at present. A handsome but puzzling coin [SLIDE 36, 37] is this gold imitation of the bull-and-horseman coins of the Hindushahī dynasty of Kabul, whose coinage of bull-and-horsman types in silver are well known. This medallic piece showing the same types, but with Arabic inscriptions of the Caliph al-Muqtadir (295/908 to 320/932) is at first sight puzzling. My own explanation is that during a single year in 300H., the *sikka* of Seistan was issued not in the name of a local amīr, but in that of the Caliph alone. During that year, an expedition was made against Kabul, and booty was captured. This medallion, naming the Caliph alone, could commemorate this event, and belong to this particular year.

The Islamic coinages of Afghanistan are extremely copious, and I can illustrate them no further today. They present many points of interest, and expert analysis, especially of intact hoards, could add much to our knowledge of this period.

Most students of numismatics would agree that the study of their material can substantially expand the results of other disciplines. Such work is however laborious, and requires a greater patience than in some branches, and an increased expenditure of time, which is why much still remains to be done. Since coins are portable, and have, notoriously, a market value, serious attention must be paid to security if they are to be made available for study. Without study, museum stocks would remain largely sterile. Specialized coin departments, provided with the necessary libraries and equipment, as in present-day European national museums, show what can be achieved with suitable facilities. It is only to be hoped that, with Afghanistan's unique inheritance of coinage, modern resources could one day be devoted to its study.

I have already mentioned security as a requisite for the successful study of coin collections. An essential element of this requirement is the availability of qualified and professional specialist staff. These are needed to identify and record the contents of the collection, to invigilate students working on the coins, and to meet responsibilities for the custody of the collection. They will also, of course, in a state institution, take charge of the investigation and handling of treasure-troves found in the area served by the institution. Hardly less essential is the provision of modern storage equipment for the accommodation of the coins. Proper cabinets avoid endless waste of time in storing and retrieving coins, make efficient invigilation possible, and enable the coins to be kept in systematic order. In addition, subsidiary services are naturally required. A reliable photographer will be needed to record the institution's

holdings; computers, unknown during my own distant training period, are nowadays regularly used to maintain the registers; a precision balance serves not only for metrological studies, but specifically to distinguish coins of identical types for the record. It is rare for two ancient coins of the same issue to record identical weights. Additionally, the preparation of books and articles needs materials and facilities, and a specialist library.

I, need hardly say the provision of all these facilities calls for financial backing. The source of this support is always a major problem. Proper facilities demand funds which hard-pressed goverments, except in the most advanced countries, are reluctant to provide. Thus, while responsible national and scientific interests are starved and inadequate, the world of the commercial dealer is awash with funds. This anomaly, despite much rhetoric, has in recent years never been faced.

On cannot leave the subject without touching on the contentious subject of treasure-trove. What I believe is the Napoleonic system, that all buried treasure is *ipso facto* the property of the state, offers finders and intermediaries little incentive to support scientific treatment of their finds. In a disciplined nation such as Sweden, it has succeeded admirably in preserving intact the numsimatic finds of several centuries. In a world of robust individualists, a character for which the Afghans have long been famous, such sanctions have proved strikingly ineffective. Restrictive legislation, however draconian the enforcement, has never cowed this population. Personally, I am inclined to think that the Sharī'a provisions, as in many cases, are practical and have much in

their favour. I am no jurist, but as I understand the matter, in Islamic law, treasure-trove is treated a *fai'*, that is "booty", to be divided on a system of "fifths" between the government, the local commander, and the finders. Before the fifth can be estimated, the entire find needs, of course, to be listed and valued. This would make possible an early record of the find, though admittedly huge discoveries such as the fabled second Mir Zakah hoard of Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Scythian coins, said to weigh over four tons, would have needed dozens of specialists to record promptly.

The intelligent enforcement of Sharī'a law in this connection would attract public support, provide greater incentive for finders to co-operate with the authorities, and, by placing the activities of dealers on a legal basis, make them subject to modest income taxes which could provide revenue to support the necessary institutions.

The Museum of Kabul formerly possessed one of the finest coin cabinets in the world, and provided generous facilities to attested students, as my own apprenticeship confirms. Only shortage of finance limited its contribution to numismatic science. All of us assembled here devoutly wish that its original status could be one day restored, and that it could be endowed with resources to fulfil the scientific role that the special status of numismatics in the heritage of Afghanistan demands.

# THE SIGNIFICANCE OF NUMISMATIC STUDIES FOR ANCIENT AND MODERN AFGHANISTAN

by A D H Bivar

It is an established cliché that Afghanistan is the "Crossroads of Asia". Its geopolitical situation at the intersection of trans-Asian routes makes the country a critical strategic focus. Its importance for world-wide military movements has resulted in its becoming, century after century, the location of embittered conflicts with expanding powers. We need only mention the names of Cyrus the Great, Alexander of Macedon, Seleucus, Chandragupta Maurya, then Maves and Azes the Saka chiefs -- whose tribes of indefatigable nomads are perhaps the closest ancestors of the Afghans today. Of the Kushans, masters of the Silk Route, you will be hearing on another occasion. Later, as the current era advanced, this land saw the passing of Shapur I the Sasanian. Several of the Dari-speaking communities of the country could date their origins to his time. Then came the Huns, of many tribes and "colours". Chionites, Kidarites, Hephthalites, Zabulites, Black Huns, Red Huns, White Huns: the catalogue is endless. That these groups incorporated an important Turkish element is today all but certain. That they contributed to the make-up of the present-day Ghilzai and Jaghuri tribes is probable enough.

Then came the Arabs, introducing a new people, a new language and a new religion, henceforth to be the dominant influence of the region. Stubbornly resisted for a while by the surviving pre-Islamic Turkish elements, those Kings of Arachosia quaintly named by the Arabs Zunbil, and by the earliest, Turkish, dynasty of the Kabul Shahs, Islam was of course to triumph, even though the

# The Afghan Political Landscape

By

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The Afghan successful repulse of the Soviet aggression became a Pyrrhic victory of the late twentieth century. It was, however not in the sense that history repeats itself exactly, as some hold. Of course the essential motor force of history is always man, but every time he makes history he makes it under vastly different conditions. Even the man of the third century BC when Pyrrhus, king of Epirus in Greece, invaded Italy but at a too great cost, was not like the man of to-day in his outlook except for his basic drives, to say nothing of the tools with which he makes history. That is why Afghan victory, more than Pyrrhic victory, brought about such dire consequences that, among other things shook even the foundation of the land for which the Afghans fought. Of all the consequences the one with international significance proved the most troublesome. It still is.

When the Afghans began to fight back the aggressive army of the "Soviet evil empire" nearly the whole non-Soviet world lauded them with the lofty words their men of mass media, political, public, and spiritual leaders could find. Even the top person of the first super power who at the same time was the top leader of the Western world did not hesitate to define the Afghans as "freedom fighters." Most media men in the Western world just like those in the Islamic world printed the stories of Afghan gallantry in the front pages of their papers, and called the attention of their readers that there in the heart of Asia was a little known people who undauntedly stood steadfast in defence of their

fatherland against the aggressive army of the Soviet super power. Scores of academics, journalists, human right activists, and even some elected public figures endangered their lives by making trips to the forbidden war zones deep inside Afghanistan to see whether the "freedom fighters" deserved the praises with which they were being lauded. Sceptics were few, and lauders numerous. The recommendations of these people in part convinced the decision making bodies of their respective countries that if ever there was a nation around the "evil empire" which deserved assistance in curbing its expansionistic designs it was the nation of these "freedom fighters".

The words were matched with deeds. A variety of lethal weapons along with logistical materials, medicine, and funds were generously made available to the freedom fighters, the weapons for which they, known for their marksmanship, were eagerly waiting. Even the newly manufactured ground to air missiles, known as Stinger, were handed over to them. They were the first to receive such a weapon which greatly curbed the safe monopoly of the aggressors of the Afghan sky. The weapons along with psychological and diplomatic support of the non-Soviet world further strengthened the resolve of the freedom fighters in defending their values against the intruders. The intruders were forced to retreat, a retreat which in effect was their defeat and their failure to dominate the land of the freedom fighters militarily. No other country around the evil empire which it had invaded had scored such a victory. That was not alone. Shortly afterward the "evil empire" itself disintegrated and out of its ashes emerged more than a dozen independent states. The bipolarised world became history, the Cold War was gone, the Berlin Wall crumbled, and the United States emerged as the sole super power of the time with a mighty economy in decades.

All the above happened after the Western world and the Islamic world helped the Afghan freedom fighters to hit more effectively the Soviet aggressors in the atmosphere of the Cold War in which the Western world had been engaged in devising military and other kinds of schemes that required the expenditure of thousands of billions of dollars. But then something odd happened. When the "evil empire" disappeared, the Western world all of a sudden turned its back on the Afghans. This it did at a time when Afghanistan had been devastated by the war. In this grand destruction the weapons of the Western world had also played a part. Every body thought that if there ever was a country that was

entitled to assistance in its reconstruction efforts it was the land of the freedom fighters. Every body expected that the Western world and the United states in particular owed the Afghans a moral responsibility in helping them reconstruct their ruined country, or at least caution others not to interfer in its internal affairs. Instead they left them to the mercy of their ill-intentioned neighbors. These neighbors who should have been permanently grateful to the Afghans for securing them from the ever present menace of the evil empire acted as if they were the new Soviets. History played a most cruel trick on the Afghans.

The "new Soviets" or the ill-intentioned neighbors thought that the new Afghans who had been intoxicated by their victory over the army of the Soviet super power and experienced in the use of a wide range of sophisticated weapons might pose a danger to them. They had become concerned about the weapons which the Afghans had come to possess in abundance. Since nearly all had in the past grudges against the Afghans for various reasons they thought that the time had now come to dominate Afghanistan. Whatever the specific designs of each one of them they were all united in pursuing one particular goal which was that Afghanistan should not have a strong national government with a strong army. Some even trotted on the road that was intended to lead to more than one Afghanistan. In pursuing such a policy they were in fact going on the footsteps of the former Soviet Union. They then designed means and ways intended to embroil the Islamic Tanzimat (Islamic Organizations) and ethnic militias among themselves in fighting to weaken themselves and their country. These were the issues with various offshoots which the Afghans face to the present day. Let me pursue the main issues with some detail.

## The scheme of more than one Afghanistan

The notion of more than one Afghanistan has its origin in the second British war with Afghanistan when first the British Government of India and subsequently the imperial government of Russia had entertained. Lord Lytton, the British viceroy of India, had actually turned the notion into a policy when the British troops had occupied Afghanistan. But the Afghans frustrated him in his design. (1) At the same time, the secretary to the Russian governor-general in Tashkand encouraged the then fugitive Sardar Abd al-Rahman Khan in Tashkand to set up a new state in northern Afghanistan with Russian assistance. But

when the sardar returned to Afghanistan he disappointed the Russians. (2) Both super powers of the time acted with a view to making the Hindu Kush the boundary of their empires, which meant the partition of Afghanistan. The British government of India later imposed the Durand Agreement on Ameer Abd al-Rahman Khan that eventually separated original Afghanistan from present day Afghanistan. (3). This proved to be such a serious event that in time it indirectly led to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. The British however until their departure from India assisted Afghan rulers in consolidating their kingdom or what had remained of it. This was, however not the same with the Russians, who especially in the Soviet era even pressured Afghan governments to suppress any one or any group of people north of the Hindu Kush who, they thought, were anti-Russians. (4) To please the Soviets the Afghan governments suppressed many, until on the same issue an encounter with far reaching consequences took place between Leonid Brezhnev and President Mohammad Da'ud in the Kremlin on 12 April 1977. In the words of an observer, "Brezhnev complained that the number of experts from NATO countries working in Afghanistan in bilateral ventures, as well as in the UN and other multilateral aid projects, had considerably increased. In the past, he said, the Afghan government at least did not allow experts from NATO countries to be stationed in northern parts of the country, but this practice was no longer strictly followed. The Soviet Union, he continued, took a grim view of these developments and wanted the Afghan government to get rid of those experts, who were nothing more than spies bent on promoting the cause of imperialism." In response President Da'ud became as surprising to the Russians as they had become to the Afghans. After his initial diplomatic words, President Da'ud addressed Leonid Brezhnev in these words:. "... we will never allow you to dictate to us how to run our country and whom to employ in Afghanistan. How and where we employ the foreign experts will remain the exclusive prerogative of the Afghan state. Afghanistan shall remain poor, if necessary, but free in its acts and decisions." (5)

The Brezhnev-led Soviets proved that they were dead serious in what they had said to President Da'ud after they invaded Afghanistan in 1979. But the tough resistance the Afghans offered convinced them that they can not pacify Afghanistan as they had hoped they would in a matter of months just as they had pacified Bukhara early in the century and some East European countries following World War Two. They then

took such measures with respect to northern Afghanistan that were apparently intended to eventually separate it from the rest of the country. In other words they made efforts to realize their old dream, that is, to make northern Afghanistan an appanage of their empire. In this way, they intended to secure a natural boundary for their empire as Lord Lytton had tried to secure the same boundary for the British empire a century earlier. For this purpose, the measures which the Soviets through their client Purchami regime took after 1982 were novel. These included the quartering in Mazar of a sub-government composed of deputy ministers headed by deputy premier, the authorization of provincial governors north of the Hindu Kush to exchange missions directly, that is, without reference to Kabul with the Soviet Central Asian republics, the extension of electric power from across the Oxus River to some of these provinces, the construction over the Oxus River of a new bridge, the "Friendship Bridge" (pul-e-dosti), the almost free travel of officials from both sides to northern Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, and no comparable severe military operations in northern Afghanistan on the part of the Soviet army. As a supplementary to these measures the client regime embarked on the policy of nationalities according to which the Afghan nationalities, that is, ethnic groups, were declared brothers and equal to each other. This policy was, in fact, intended to encourage the non-Pashtun ethnic groups in northern Afghanistan to unite against the Pashtuns who, by virtue of being in the majority and the producer of the ruling dynasties ever since 1747, were the most militant against the usurpers of the national sovereignty. To give teeth to the policy the client regime permitted certain minority ethnic groups to organize militias with its funds and weapons. The regime used some such militias as storm troopers. The most known of these were the Uzbek militias of the province of Jouzjan in northern Afghanistan headed by Abd al Rasheed Dostum, who, by 1992, was said to have 60, 000 armed men under his command. (6)

Had the Soviet Union not been dissolved on December 25, 1991 the Afghans would have found it more difficult to reunite their land. The break-up of the Soviet Union did not mean that the policy of fragmentation was given up. Federal Russia and following her the government of Iran and to some extent also the new republic of Uzbekistan followed the policy through their surrogates, especially Dostum and the Islamic Unity Party headed by Mazari, a pro-Khumeini

party. The Russian agents attached to its consulate in Mazar became so active that they worked for the success of Dostum to the detriment of the government in Kabul led by President Najib Allah, even though the latter had been the most loyal man of the Kremlin throughout the occupation period.( 7) On March 21, 1992 heads of five minority groups claiming to represent the ethnic groups to which they belonged in collusion with some military and civilian personnel of the pro-Karmal faction of the former People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan set up what was called the Northern Coalition in Mazar. Azad Khan Uzbek and an official of the intelligence service of Iran also attended the meeting. The purpose was to topple the government of President Najib Allah and terminate the traditional Pashtun rule in Afghanistan. This was the first time that encouraged by agents of foreign governments some men from minority ethnic groups made an anti-Pashtun coalition. The blind forces of hatred were collectively given a vent. In Mazar Dostum, now calling himself the head of the Islamic and National Movement made himself pasha by a successful coup. He had now under him a strong militia with light and heavy weapons of all kinds, including some air power and the Scud missiles. All the provinces from Badakhshan to Herat in northern Afghanistan that were severed from Kabul fell into the hands of Dostum, Commander Ahmad Shah Mas'ud., and Commander Mohammad Isma'il Khan ( 8) Afghanistan was in fact but not in name fragmented. On April 14, the coalition led by Commander Ahmad Shah Masud and Dostum made a successful coup against President Najib Allah, who took asylum in the headquarters of the United Nations in Kabul. No one however dared to set up a government. The setting up of a new government was considered to be the prerogative of the Islamic Tanzimat who had waged a relentless opposition throughout the occupation period against the Soviet invaders. There on April 24, 1992 in the presence of nearly all the heads of the Tanzimat and the premier of Pakistan, the heads of the intelligence services of Saudi Arabia and Pakistan and the ambassadors of Iran a formula was designed which made the heads of two non-Pashtun Tanzimat to lead the new interim government in Kabul.(9)

The Peshawar Accord had a common ground with the Northern Coalition. In both persons from minority ethnic groups were raised to high power. In both the Pashtun majority was excluded from holding high power. In both agents of the ill-intentioned neighbors including Russia worked for the promotion of their Afghan surrogates. In both

nationalistic and other groups were excluded. In both the concept of ethnic collectivism was stressed at the expense of individual qualification. Finally and most important, both were designed to do away with the existing standing army which could have been manipulated and used as a bulwark against instability which usually crops up during the uncertain period of transition. The outcome became an unimaginable disaster that the Afghans experienced during the period of the Tanzimat.

During this period when the existing standing army had disintegrated all the radical Tanzimat fought against each other. All the ethnic militias fought against each other. They all turned against the helpless civilians. In this period of unprecedented anarchy, kidnapping, looting, raping, robbing, imprisoning, torturing, killing, exacting exorbitant taxes on merchandises in hundreds of posts along the roads were attempted by armed men belonging to the ethnic militias, the radical Tanzimat and even the so-called government in Kabul. The armed groups of freebooters and thugs of various stripes also became active. Such things became the order of the day not only in the city of Kabul where a government led by President Burhan al-Deen existed by name but also throughout the country that was fragmented and mastered by self-interested autonomous governors and commanders. All this happened in the period of running inflation where in Kabul fathers would present their children to markets for others to take and feed and keep. The city of Kabul which had become as a result of years of modernization schemes the center of a flourishing and cosmopolitan civilization was almost all destroyed. It still is in ruin. Approximately 60,000 of its residents were killed in the fighting. Over one and a half millions of its residents were forced to flee to the countryside or Pakistan. Any person throughout the land who could not protect himself, his family or property was exposed to danger. Afghanistan had become an inferno more in this period than even in the occupation period until the Taliban ended the reign of terror.

It was impossible for the Taliban to accomplish what they accomplished without the prevalence of the situation as described. It was unthinkable for the Taliban to score spectacular victories over the seasoned fighters of the Tanzimat and the ethnic militias without the active support of the local population. It was also impossible for the Taliban to rise without having strong convictions against tyranny (zulm).

In no other period of Afghan history that I know of religious functionaries have become the ruling power. Perhaps at no other period such a situation had prevailed in Afghanistan .

The event that led directly to the rise of the Taliban shows this in part. Mulla Mohammad Omar of the village of Sangisar in the district of Panjwayee in Kandahar accompanied by a number of his talibs (students of Islamic learning) asked Commander Salih Mohammad to release the women he had seized from a passenger bus coming from Herat. Salih Mohammad had set up a tax post (patak) on the Kandahar-Herat highway. The mulla pleaded with him to free the women because, said he, "...seizing the women of other people was against Islam and against Pashtunwali [the Pashtun codes of behavior] and that it would provoke the Heratis to seize in revenge the women of Kandahar who might be our sisters or wives or mothers." Salih Mohammad declined the request and further threatened him with gouging his second eye. The mullah had lost one eye during the resistance. Mullah Mohammad Omar retreated, but determined to do some thing about the commander. The mulla collected his companions and followers and attacked Salih Mohammad in his post who was killed. The weapons of Salih Mohammad fell into his hands. Afterward he got rid of many other such local commanders either by persuasion or force or both until in November 1994 he wrested Kandahar itself from autonomous masters such as Gul Agha (Barakzay), Naqib Allah (Alkozay), Lalay (Popalzay), and Haji Ahmad (Achakzay). (10)

The fall of Kandahar proved a turning point. It was followed by the fall of Ghazni shortly afterward, of Herat on September 5, 1995, of Jalalabad on September 13, 1996 and of Kabul on September 27, 1996. All this meant a sweep of the Taliban over the Kabul government, over the Tanzimat and the ethnic militias south of the Hindu Kush as well as the disappearance of criminals, kidnappers, robbers, rapists, pataks and the like. It also meant general disarmament and the maintenance of security, an accomplishment of immense significance. It likewise meant momentum for the forces of reunification at the expense of centrifugal forces which the interventionistic policies of the ill-intentioned neighbors were reinforcing all this time mainly through their Afghan surrogates.

The country was still far from united. All the regions north of the Hindu Kush and a few provinces close to Kabul were still held by others. It was argued that since these regions were not populated as much by

the ethnic Pashtuns as the other regions had been the Taliban, most of whom are Pashtuns would be unable to pacify them especially when the heads of the opposing groups enjoyed the active support of Iran and Russia, and that under the supervision of the Russian consul in Mazar they had made a new anti-Taliban Alliance in Khinjan on October 10,1996. It was even argued that the sweep of the religious-minded, Pashtun-dominated, and hard-line rustic Taliban would perpetuate the division of the country. Hence the increase in weapons and cash from Iran and Russia to the groups composing the new Alliance. The Alliance was, however negative in the sense that it was made only in opposition to the Taliban. Other than that their members had no common ground among them. That was why no unified military command was set up. Also, even the strongest member of it, that is, the National and Islamic Movement led by General Dostum suffered from internal cracks. Further, the sweep of the Taliban produced favorable responses among the people north of the Hindu Kush also. Conversely, the presence of the Russian consul in Khinjan made the Alliance unpopular. All Afghans were bewildered by it and most cursed those who had made it.

In May 1997 General Abd al-Malik, the second in command of the National and Islamic Movement staged a coup against General Dostum, and invited the Taliban to Mazar. The joint forces of the Taliban and Abd al-Malik forced Dostum to flee the country, and occupy Mazar. But all of a sudden the table turned against the Taliban. Instead of trying to consolidate their position in an uncertain situation some commanders ordered the Taliban to forcefully implement unpopular measures in the name of Islamic Shari'at in complete disregard to the wishes of the people. Their new ally along with their old foes joined hands against the Taliban and routed them completely. Over 5,000 of the Taliban were imprisoned along with a number of their commanders. Probably over 3,000 of these imprisoned Taliban were subsequently slaughtered. The Taliban lost Mazar as quickly as they had possessed it quickly, but another column of them that came to the north through the Salang tunnel took the province of Kunduz in their hands. They thus got a foothold in the north. The active presence of this column frightened their foes, and they prepared the way for the return of General Dostum, who once again took command. General Malik fled to Iran. But Dostum was no longer the strong man that he had been even in Mazar which was divided between various groups. Mazar was declared the headquarters of the

deposed regime of Rabbani whom the government of Iran still recognized. Through its consul in Mazar Iran provided military experts especially to the pro-Iranian Islamic Unity Party led then by Karim Khalili. This party became more active than ever because of the weapons, money and encouragement it received from Iran on an increasingly big scale. In fact, Iran's strategy at this stage was to deliver weapons by air to any group that opposed the Taliban. Its transport planes carrying weapons were landed twice or three times a week in the airfields of Shiberghan, Bamian and Bagram. 'Alaw al-Deen Brojurdi, the man Iran had put in charge of Afghan affairs made open trips regularly to Bamian and northern Afghanistan. Iran was determined to build a strong block against the Taliban as it worked to prevent another sweep of the Taliban to the north.

Nevertheless the second sweep of the Taliban began from the province of Badghis north-east of Herat in July 1998. This time they were alone in their sweep, and respected the wishes of the local population, even addressing their rallies , telling them that they had come to deliver them from the clutches of the mercenaries and atheists. They first occupied the province of Faryab, with its capital of Maimana, the home town of General Malik, and soon afterward the province of Jouzjan with its capital of Shiberghan the home town of General Dostum. The general repeatedly resisted the Taliban, but could not turn the tide, and then he fled once again. The Taliban were in Shiberghan when their supporters in the province of Balkh with its capital at Mazar invited them to their province. The people of Hazhdah Nahr around the ancient city of Balkh even urged them to come. The Taliban even though were unprepared for the undertaking accepted the call. Mazar came under fire by columns of the Taliban from Kunduz, and Shiberghan in conjunction with local supporters especially from the Balkh area. By this time even though Mazar had received some reinforcement all groups of the Northern Alliance had deserted the city, and only the pro-Iranian Islamic Unity Party had taken positions to defend it. But against the determined and united front of the Taliban and the local population Mazar could not be defended. The Taliban and their allies took the city by storm in a matter of hours on Saturday August 8, 1998. The losses in men for the Unity Party was immense, particularly of those fleeing the scene. The occupation of Mazar followed by the rapid advance of the Taliban in adjacent provinces until on 13 September 1998 they also occupied

Arabic language, outside religious life, and the Arab race remained sparsely represented. As we approach the later Middle Ages, the hand of Chinggis Khan lay heavy on the country. Great cities, Ṭāliqān, Bāmiyān, Balkh, all but vanished from the map. The fourteenth century saw the arrival of another conqueror. Timur crossed and re-crossed the land. The erasure of the great city of Zaranj in Sīstān must be laid to his account. Finally, the 18th century saw the coming of Nādir Shah Afshār, destroyer of the Old City of Qandahār. Yet the Qizilbāsh of Kabul trace their ancestry to his armies. I need say nothing of the disastrous events of recent years. The enhanced power of modern weaponry has made these perhaps the most devastating visitations of all. All these clashes have levied a disastrous toll, not only of human life, but of the country's heritage both of manuscripts and architectural monuments. Of the relics of an illustrious past above ground, hardly a handful survive unscathed.

Above everything, however, such marshalling of great armies required supplies of money. During ancient times, this necessarily took the form of bullion currencies. Armies had to pay their men in cash, and pay also to local populations for supplies and services. Massive coinages of silver and gold were struck to supply these needs. Moreover, throughout Antiquity and the Middle Ages, Afghanistan remained one of the world's greatest producers of silver. Metal could be obtained to support coin output for forces strong enough to control the ground. Moreover, when armies or individuals were faced with defeat or disaster, there could in the past be no resort to banks. In the hope of eventual retrieval money could only be buried in the ground, where, in the absence of literary accounts, it would preserve a unique story of events, IF ONLY ITS RECORD could be read and interpreted.

Bamian, the capital of Hazarajat, the stronghold of the pro-Iranian Islamic Unity Party. Thus Mazar after 6 years and the Hazarajat after 18 years of separation were reincorporated in Afghanistan and the reunification of the land was now almost complete.

Considering the amount of weapons they had accumulated and the backing of Iran and Russia that they enjoyed the groups composing the Northern Alliance were unlikely to accept a central government in Kabul whether headed by the Taliban or others. Together they had a total of more than 170 tanks, more than 900 military vehicles, more than 50 motorized personnel carriers, more than a few helicopters and war air planes, more than 180 Scud and Luna rockets, and an unspecified quantity of other light and heavy weapons. The actual amount of weapons may be higher.

The most important accomplishment of the Taliban is the fact that after twenty years of the Soviet invasion and the civil war during which time the country had been in a state of fragmentation they have brought it to the brink of reunification. They have accomplished this at a time when the difficulties confronting them were far more formidable than at any time since the Second Anglo-Afghan War. In fact, the internal difficulties were even sharper now than at any time since Ahmad Shah Durranay had founded Afghanistan: in the present civil war the internal powers had so much weapons in their hands which no other groups or persons had in any other period of civil war; in the present period there had sprung so many rival political and military centers of power based on ethnicity and region which did not exist in any other period of civil war; to the extent that in the present period power seekers had gone so much under the influence of foreign powers others in no other period had gone; and finally to the extent that the ill-intentioned neighbors had designed schemes on Afghanistan and had prolonged the state of war through their Afghan surrogates in no other period others have done so. What the Taliban and their elders have accomplished no other groups of Afghans could accomplish. They have accomplished all this at a time when the Afghans as a nation had become powerless and disappointed, and the ill-intentioned neighbors bent upon hurting them and the integrity of their country. Afghanistan in fact had faced a most severe crisis of its integrity. Therefore the accomplishments of the Taliban and of their commanders are equal to all those which the Afghans have accomplished after Ahmad Shah Durranay had founded Afghanistan. In

short with dauntless spirit and huge sacrifices they have secured Afghanistan for its own people in face of insurmountable odds.

A National Government for Afghanistan.
Afghan Make or Foreign Make?

Since the Soviet invasion Afghanistan had in fact no national government. During the period of the Tanzimat the Afghans came closer to have one, but whatever it was it was not a national government. The state that was called the Islamic State of Afghanistan became ineffective. It became ineffective because that was the outcome of the Peshawar Accord which was devised essentially by foreign powers. Hence the chaos and anarchy which the Afghans face to this day. The lesson should be that if the purpose is a viable political set up for Afghans it should be devised by their own chosen or selected representatives. In the present situation, this seems more of an ideal than a realizable goal for in the present war situation groups of Afghans prefer to grab the state power. But even now if a group or groups of people possess state power they can remain in power only if they make it representative or fairly so by sharing power with persons drawn from all levels until such a time when a loya jirga or a grand council is convened or the ground for general elections is prepared. In other words they must not only not monopolize state power, but should also satisfy the people by providing them security of life and security of property as well as respecting their legitimate rights, their legitimate wishes and attend to their legitimate needs even if there is still no new constitution and no lawful national government. Unfortunately this has not been the case so far.

Whatever form of government that has come to be set up by the Afghans or a group or groups of them since the April coup of 1978 has been monopolistic. For whatever reason no Afghan active on the national scene has come out with the vision, agenda and actions commensurate of a national leader. At times efforts were made toward the formation of a pluralistic form of government but such efforts have all but failed. They have failed principally because of the war situation, the monopolistic designs of the committed and radical Afghans and the schemes of the ill-intentioned neighbors as already described. After the Soviet withdrawal the General-Secretary of the United Nations showed interest in assisting the Afghans to set up a broad-based government, but all his efforts through his special envoys have failed. The formula is still on the table,

and is pursued by his present special envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi. But the formula specially in the present situation suffers from limitations and so it is unlikely that will come to fruition for the following reasons:

1- The formula of the broad-based government is not relevant in the present situation. Originally it was put forward by Diego Cordovez after the Geneva Accords were signed in April 1988. At the time it was expected that following the withdrawal of the Soviet troops all the sides involved in Afghan politics would agree to, and work for, the formation of a broad-based government until the time for general election has arrived. It was hoped that the political vacuum that would result the withdrawal would thus be filled in, and anarchy avoided. This did not happen, and the formula died. Nevertheless Cordovez's successors pursued it; they also failed. The General-Secretary did not address the issue of why his envoys failed in their missions. Now he seems to take some drastic measures about it. But now there is no longer a political void in Afghanistan. There is now an Islamic Emirate which controls more than ninety percent of the country, and by all accounts has maintained security in its domain. It has thus got the right to represent Afghanistan in international communities and speak for it. It alone has the power and the ability to implement any program that concerns Afghanistan in its domain. For the United Nations to have any dealing with Afghanistan and its people it can not do without it. Only in cooperation with it can it try to resolve whatever issues it wants to pursue with regard to the country. If for nothing else for practical reasons it needs to recognize and deal with it. Recognition of the Islamic Emirate would also mean changes toward moderation. In its domain already operates a free market system with least government regulations. Its leaders have shown that they are not dogmatic revolutionaries, but responsive to legitimate and sensible demands and changes.

2- The broad-based government formula has now became a means for others to pressure the Afghans to set up a political system the way they think is fit. This limits the choice of Afghans in the matter of self-determination, and thus it negates their basic right, a right which is the foundation stone of their polity, just as it is the foundation stone of all polities. Let us not forget the fact that the Afghans gave huge sacrifices in fighting the Soviet intruders principally to assert their right to self-determination.

conflict, not its solution.

The demand which Afghans as well as non-Afghans are entitled to make for a broad-based government should be in the sense that it be representative in accord with the social conventions of Afghans and the principles of human rights, as this should be so in all polities. In this connection in the present specific conditions of Afghanistan two suggestions are most talked about. One suggestion is the emergency loya jirga which the former King Mohammad Zahir has put forward in November 1990. According to it an emergency loya jirga is to be convened after some preparations have been made for it by all those groups and persons who carry influence and weight in society. The jirga is to set up an interim government, and the latter is to prepare in suitable time the ground for the institution of a national government on the basis of a new constitution.

The first comment to make about it is that the emergency loya jirga was proposed at a time when Afghanistan had no government, or had a Parcham-based government, but which, by all accounts, was considered unviable. Now it is not so. No loya jirga can be convened inside Afghanistan without the concurrence of the Islamic Emirate. The Emirate stands for a loya jirga or a grand council only after the whole of Afghanistan has been reunified. To its leaders the reunification is the top priority. It is yet to happen. The proponents of the emergency loya jirga may try to convene it outside Afghanistan, but they may not be able to do so. Perhaps they will be able to convene a forum of a kind, and that too only with external assistance. In such a case it will have no legitimacy, and no effectiveness. Besides, at no time in Afghan history a new government has been instituted through a loya jirga. At all times loya jirgas have been convened by already established political authorities to meet national emergencies in consultation with influential elders of society. More important, the figure upon whom the proposed emergency loya jirga hinges is the former king himself. But he is 86 years of age, out of direct touch with concrete Afghan realities for over quarter of a century, and unable to speak the language of the majority. Besides, he exists only in the memory of the old generation, and the young generation does not relate itself to him. Now to expect the former king to dynamically engage in Afghan politics as he will be required to do so, is asking too much of him. Still others work under his umbrella, hoping to replace the Islamic Emirate. Since they themselves are unable

to do so they rally around him in the hope that he can become an alternative. Hence the support of the emergency loya jirga even by such groups and persons who are essentially against it. Dr. Zalmay Khalilzad is the most active among such persons who is shuttling between Rome and Washington. They all look upon His former Majesty as a golden means to terminate the Islamic Emirate and to promote themselves who, like His former Majesty had a comfortable life abroad during the national resistance period, but now want power through international diplomacy. Seemingly His former Majesty has let them do so. Thus he has now become a liability to the people of Afghanistan in contrast to the late King Aman Allah who under similar circumstances did not choose to do so, and remained an Afghan patriot to the last minute of his life. But for the reasons I have given it is unrealistic to expect a government to be instituted through the emergency loya jirga no matter how hard their proponents work for it unless their foreign patrons push them to the seat of power by a military force, an event which is unlikely to happen. Their propaganda and activity, however, may create unrealistic hope among some Afghans, polarize all Afghans still further, and even disturb the stability which the Taliban have brought at a huge cost. In such a case the centrifugal forces may find a new lease of life and the pre-Taliban anarchy may reign once again while the proponents of the emergency loya jirga especially their activists with no social base would have become helpless, hopeless and perhaps also indifferent spectators.

The other most talked about suggestion concerns the leaders of the Islamic Emirate. They are required to introduce some kind of reform even though here much depends on the situation inside the country which is still one of war and destruction, and the attitude of the international community toward Afghanistan which is combative, and partisan, not in line with international laws and norms and thus unfair, even biased, and regrettable, but which is not the subject of discussion here. The Islamic Emirate is, therefore, not expected at his stage to introduce comprehensive reforms, but it is required to take some initial feasible steps toward such a reform.

First it should open its fold in the non-military and non-security fields to other Afghans. For this purpose it should set up a supreme consultative council composed of competent, qualified, principled, influential and non-committed Afghans to suggest ways and means for improving the over all situation, in particular the financial and

employment situation. A purpose of this council should be to devise ways and means to enlist the cooperation of Afghan specialists in Europe, America and elsewhere in reconstruction of the country. It should also set up local consultative councils or jirgas to assist local officials in running the country, a system which the Emirate had originally put into operation. Meanwhile, it should assure the Afghans that once the country was reunified it would convene, as it had promised to convene a nation-wide grand council or loya jirga to set up a representative broad-based government for the transitional period. Second, the Islamic Emirate should lift the unlawful restrictions it has imposed on women, beard, music and the like, and observe the internationally-accepted rights of men and women, a subject that I have described elsewhere in detail. (11) For the Islamic Emirate to do so it needs to abolish the office of the promotion of virtues and prevention of prohibitions. If that is not feasible or not advisable it can and should effectively discipline its officials not to punish violators of the laws themselves, but only to present them to the courts.

With these measures the Islamic Emirate would have taken steps toward easing the pressure under which it finds itself and the people. It would also have saved itself from blame for monopolizing state power as its predecessors had been rightly blamed for it. It itself would have become a broad-based government of a kind even in the present war situation. About the human right situation it would still not satisfy its international critics whatever it does in this respect. The international community would probably go on stressing the issue as before without appreciating the concern of the people about the integrity of their fatherland as well as about their concern for national sovereignty. Unfortunately, the Afghans are among the least understood people in the world. In part this is probably due to the assumption that the issue of human right especially its moral aspect is cultural. At any rate, the British suffered from the lack of understanding of the Afghans in the nineteenth century, and the Soviets in the present. Seemingly now the international community, especially the U.S. Administration, intend to repeat a similar mistake by imposing sanctions on Afghanistan, and isolating it essentially on the issue of the latter's own creation, that is, the issue of Osama bin Laden, which can not be discussed here.

The proposed sanctions in addition to the one already imposed coupled with the isolation of Afghanistan by the non-recognition of the

Islamic Emirate are bound to hurt a brave people who stood steadfast in defence of decent human values against foreign aggression for which the non-Soviet international community assisted them, but now wants to punish them in collaboration strangely with the successor of the same aggressors. But as Abd al-Hakeem Mujahid has put it the sanctions probably"... would be only in the interests of Iran and Russia, which want permanent instability in Afghanistan, while the U.S. can get nothing out of it." In short such an action does not stand to reason, common sense especially to justice if it still has a meaning. Perhaps it does not at least in the minds of power players. At any rate to impose sanctions on the poor but brave people of Afghanistan who have already suffered immensely because of the Soviet aggression and the subsequent civil war for over twenty years is nothing but a tyranny (zulm) on a huge scale.

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# THE RISE OF THE KUSHAN EMPIRE - MASTERS OF THE SILK ROUTE

Important numismatic evidence from Afghanistan

By David W Mac Dowall

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## Introduction

Afghanistan lies at the crossroads of Asia. In the Ancient world, it was the centre of the Kushan Empire which came to control the silk road – the major trade route from China and Central Asia in the east to Parthia and the Roman Empire in the west and between Central Asia in the north and India in the south. Its history has to be reconstructed from a wide range of sources - references in literary works from China and the west, a number of stone inscriptions, excavation evidence from scientifically conducted excavations and the numerous coins that were produced by the Empire in enormous quantities in very durable material (mostly gold and copper). As in most coin series substantial numbers of Kushan coins are to be found in the principal numismatic collections throughout the world – Lahore, Calcutta, London, Oxford, Paris, Berlin, New York, St Petersburg etc.. During recent years substantial progress has been made in arranging these coins into their relative chronological sequences by the application and development of modern numismatic techniques, such as metallic analyses to determine the silver and copper content of particular series. But most of the coins studied have no clear find spot or provenance recorded. The unique value of the general coin collections in Afghanistan – those of the National Museum in Kabul and the local museums in Kandahar, Herat and Mazar-i-Sharif is that they reflect the local currency of Afghanistan and distinguish it from coinages circulating in other provinces of the Kushan Empire in Central Asia, Pakistan and India. The National Museum and the Department of Archaeology are particularly important because they contain material from specific localities – excavation coins from Begram, Surkh Kotal, Ai Khanoum, Hadda, Ghazni, Kandahar, Balkh and elsewhere and important hoards from Mir Zakah, Qunduz etc. This information can then be used in conjunction with the evidence of coins excavated or found at sites in Pakistan, India and Central Asia to build up the pattern of currency in these provinces at the time of the rise of the Kushan empire.

During the course of my visits to Afghanistan during the 1970's I was allowed to work through the coins from the excavations conducted in 1941, 1942 and 1946 by the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan, to make the casts and notes that constitute the basis for this study. I offer it as an example of the way in which existing material in the Kabul National Collection can be re-examined afresh in the light of new discoveries and new methods to help unravel some of the problems surrounding the rise of the Kushan dynasty

## Begram

Begram lies 80 km north of Kabul at the base of the Hindu Kush mountains, commanding the north-south route at the confluence of the Ghorband and Panjshir rivers. In the 1940's the French archaeologist Foucher identified it with Kapisa, the capital of several Indo-Greek kings, summer residence of the Kushan emperors and chief city of the ancient province of the Paropamisadae, the country below the Parapamisus ( ie.Hindu-Kush) mountains which included the Kohistan of Kabul. As one would expect the coins from the excavations at Begram broadly reflect the pattern of the surface finds made from the site by the British explorer Charles Masson in the 1830's.

From the Begram excavation coins, as from Masson's surface finds, we see that the last Indo-Greek king of the Paropamisadae was Hermaeus who struck silver tetradrachms of c. 9.6 gms. with a subsidiary denomination of square copper coins to provide the small change. At the end of his reign the currency suffered a major debasement. There were substantial reductions in its silver content in successive issues until the tetradrachm, retaining the types of Hermaeus - the head and titles of the

Thus numismatics, the study of historical coinage, has a special importance for Afghanistan. Moreover, because the numismatics of this region reflect epoch-making world-wide movements, they are no less important for historians all over the world. The record in Afghanistan attests the ingot-currency of Cyrus the Great, the passing of Alexander, the dramatic story of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdoms, the nomad invasions, the Sasanian Persian drive to the east in the third and fourth centuries A.D., the arrival of the Huns, the appearance of Islam in the region, and the Ghaznavid and Ghurid conquests in India. Nor is the importance of these finds limited to military history. It is widely allowed, for example, that the portrait coinage of the Graeco-Bactrian kings, from about 190-120 B.C., represents some of the finest achievements of the portrait artist throughout the whole ancient world. The Islamic coinages, with their meticulous recording of Hijrī dates and of mint names, form not only a priceless resource for the excavator, but provide a key to the administrative geography of successive dynasties.

I have mentioned briefly above a new province of ancient coinage, that of ingot currency. This material has come increasingly to notice over the last two decades, and presents considerable interest. It is well known that coinage, as we understand it -- stamped units of gold, silver or their alloy electrum, prepared to an established fineness and weight standard -- began towards the end of the seventh century B.C. Such denominations came into use in western Asia Minor, and were characteristic of the kingdom of Lydia, and of certain Ionian Greek trading cities of the Aegean. Yet it would be a mistake to think that

Indo-Greek king on the obverse with his reverse type of Zeus seated on a throne - became a completely copper denomination struck at the same weight standard of c 9.6 gms.. These copper tetradrachms must have been the coinage of the invaders who overthrew the Indo-Greeks, but there are no indications from the coins themselves who these invaders were.

The earliest coins of the Kushans from Begram were the so-called joint Hermaeus/ Kujula Kadphises copper tetradrachms, with the king's head and titles of Hermaeus in Greek on the obverse (now modified from soteros to steros-su) and the new reverse type of Hercules standing, facing, holding a club in his left hand with a lion skin over his left arm, with the titles of Kujula Kadphises in Kharoshthi. This joint coinage gave rise to the idea elaborated by W.W.Tarn of joint Greek-Kushan rule in which Kujula was said to have claimed to have been a legitimate successor of Hermaeus. We now know that it was simply a case of a severely debased coinage with fossilised types to which Kujula the Kushan simply added his own name and his new reverse type of Hercules. There is no evidence that Kujula Kadphises directly succeeded the Indo-Greek rulers of Begram.

The Indo-Parthians at Begram

We know that the predecessors of the Kushans in Gandhara and the Indus valley were the Indo-Parthian kings Gondophares, his nephew Abdagases, and a third king Sases, who all struck debased tetradrachms in billon ( an alloy of silver and copper ) copying the debased billon tetradrachms of Azes II after the great debasement. Among the coin finds from Begram we find coins of the Indo-Parthian kings, here Nike type copper tetradrachms that provided the currency of the Paropamisadae and Arachosia. From Begram there is a substantial number of the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares, and a few of his nephew Abdagases .There can now be no doubt that these copper tetradrachms of Gondophares come before those of Kujula at Begram :-

1. Gondophares' titulature Basileos Soteros follows that of the earlier copper tetradrachms of the anonymous rulers who retained unchanged the types and legends of Hermaeus after the great debasement.

2. Copper tetradrachms of this type of Gondophares overstrike (ie must be later than) copper tetradrachms of "Hermaeus" ; and are in turn overstruck by copper tetradrachms of Kujula Kadphises' Hercules type.

3. In the find of 109 coins discovered by Honigberger and Masson in the series of deposits in the Jaini Tope (Bimaran stupa no. 5) near Jelalabad, the three copper tetradrachms of Gondophares Nike type were worn, compared with the 94 copper tetradrachms of Kujula Kadphises.

This evidence for the rule of the Indo-Parthian in the Paropamisadae is supported by the find of 5 Gondophares copper tetradrachms from the site of the new Kabul airport in the 1960's and isolated coins of this series from elsewhere - Hadda, Bamiyan , Charikar and Kabul. The sequence of rulers at Begram must have been :-

(i) Indo-Greek kings to Hermaeus
(ii) Invaders – not yet clear
(iii) The Indo-Parthian King Gondophares and Abdagases
(iv) The Kushan kings from Kujula Kadphises

The Chinese Annals of the Former Han, the Han-Shu compiled in the first century AD, describes the five Yabgu of the Yueh-chih who united to form the Kushan empire, stating that the yabgu of Kao-fu resides at the walled city of Kao-fu (Kabul). The Chinese Annals of the Later Han , the Hou Han-Shu corrects this account and says that the ruler of Kuei-shuang attacked the other four yabgu and established himself as their king. He invaded An-hsi (Parthia or Indo-Parthia), and took the country of Kao-fu (Kabul). The three countries of Tien-çhu (India), Chi-pin (Kashmir) and An-hsi (Parthia or Indo-Parthia) have possessed it when they were strong and lost it again they were weak. The Yueh-Chih obtained Kao-fu (Kabul) only after they had defeated An-hsi (Indo-Parthia). The

account of the Chinese annals is confirmed and amplified by the evidence of the coins from Begram. Kujula conquered the Paropamisadae from the Indo-Parthians

The coinage of Kujula Kadphises

The coins of the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises from Begram are all of one type - with the Hercules reverse. They have simple reverse legend in Kharoshthi :-

Kujula Kasasa Kushana yavugasa dhramathidasa

which mentions his role as Kushan Yabgu (a Turkish word for leader or clan f) but not as king or king of kings.

(4) Kujula AE Hercules reverse

When he introduces his own name into the Greek obverse legend he is similarly modest and uses simply

Kozoulou Kadphisou Korsolou,

again avoiding the title of Basileus or king.

(5) Kujula AE various types point out please

In his coinage overall Kujula Kadphises used several different types :-

(a) the standing Hercules type, the only type recorded from Begram, which was represented by 2006 examples from the excavations at Sirkap, Taxila in Pakistan.

(b) the Roman head type, with the king seated on a Roman curule chair - a copper coin c. 3.5 gms. apparently inspired by a Roman silver denarius of Augustus , Tiberius or Claudius. There were 334 examples of this type from the excavations at Sirkap,Taxila.

(c) the Macedonian soldier type, a small.copper denomination weighing 4 to 5 gms. A small hoard containing coins of this type with the Roman head type has been found at Siri Bahlol north of Mardan in Northern Pakistan.

(d) the seated king / standing Zeus type – a tiny denomination of some 2 gm. There were 78 examples from the excavations at Sirkap Taxila.

(e) the Bull/Camel type in two copper denominations of c. 11 and 3 gms. ,copying the types of the copper denominations of Jihonika, satrap of Chukhsa – found principally in Kashmir, but also represented by 23 specimens from Sirkap excavations.

Types (a) to (d) have the limited and modest titulature of Kushan Yabgu. The Hercules' reverse type (a) , which was the only type found at Begram is also the principal type at Taxila; and it seems to have been the principal type of Kujula found across the Paropamisadae, Gandhara and Taxila. Types (b) to (d) seem to fractional denominations of ½ and ¼ of the copper tetradrachm – probably representing an attempt to regulate the output of fractional copies of the tetradrachm type that are found in the excavations at Taxila and Butkara.

The only issue of Kujula giving him royal titles is the Bull/ Camel coinage - type (e) – which seems to have had a local circulation primarily in Kashmir. Its Kharoshthi legends are :-

Maharayasa rayatirayasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa. and

Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa.

It is the only issue that continues with the same obverse and reverse types and titulature for the succeeding Kushan king Vima Takto with the Kharoshthi legend —

Maharayasa rayatirayasa devaputrasa Vema tak maha

The Rabatak Inscription

The recently discovered Bactrian inscription from Rabatak in northern Afghanistan provides us for the first time with the genealogy of the early Kushan kings from Kujula Kadphises to Kanishka. This had previously been disputed and was the subject of much speculation. The inscription records that King

Kanishka gave orders to Shafar the karalang ...... to make images of those gods who are written above and he gave orders to make them for king Kujula Kadphises his great grandfather, and for king Vima Takto ? his grandfather, and for Vima Kadphises his father and also for himself king Kanishka. It is now clear that the Kushan dynasty down to Kanishka was a single family descended from the yabgu Kujula Kadphises.

## The nameless Kushan king Soter Megas

It has been recognised for some time now that the coins of the nameless king Soter Megas, which have a series of titles but no personal name - Basileu Basileuon Soter Megas - the king ruling (or perhaps the king of kings), the great, the saviour, must be placed between the issues of Kujula and those of Vima Kadphises, who uses the same titles with his personal name. It was a very extensive coinage which is distributed from Bactria north of the Oxus, across the provinces of the Paropamisadae , Gandhara and Taxila as far as Mathura and Benares, and served the important role of unifying the various coinages of the new empire into one coherent system. Hitherto there has been no agreed interpretation of this coinage. Some scholars have regarded it as the coinage of an independent Kushan ruler between Kujula Kadphises and Vima Kadphises, who consolidated the empire. But othes have argued that it represents a later stage in the coinage of Kujula, while others have argued instead for an early phase of the coinage of Vima.

In a recent article Cribb has listed at some length the various issues and varieties of the coinage of Soter Megas, adding some very rare coins that have Soter Megas types and legends with additional aksaras which can be read as “Vima” to produce what he terms “ Coins of Vima I Tak (to). While it seems an attractive solution to identify the nameless king with Vima Tak ? of the Rabatak inscription – a king whose name was not previously known, Cribb has not considered seriously other alternatives.

The Annals of the Later Han 118.9a describes the rise of the Kushans. The Yabgu of Kuei –shuang, Ch’iu-chiu-ch’ueh ( ie. Kujula), attacked and destroyed the other four Yabgu and established himself as their king. He died at at the age of more than 80 years and his son Yen –Kao chen succeeded him as king . He in turn destroyed T’ien-chu (India). The son of an eighty year old father would not have many active campaigning years left as sole king when his father died, although as heir apparent he would no doubt have played a military role under his father’s direction before he acceded and may even have been accorded a royal title. The local coinage of Kashmir does indeed give Kujula the royal title we might expect and this local coinage is issued with the same titles explicitly for his son and successor Vima Takto.
Bactria north of the Hindu Kush mountains was associated with the Yue-chi for a century or more before the rise of Kujula and was certainly an integral part of the Kushan empire for a long time afterwards. Yet no coins of Kujula Kadphises are found in that province. Before the rise of the empire, the Yueh-chih copper currency there had consisted of imitation Heliocles tetradrachms and drachms. The copper coinage of Kujula with his titles simply as Kushan Yabgu reflect an early phase of conquest.The standardisation of the diverse coinages of a new empire that we see in the issues of the nameless king Soter Megas inevitably come later.

Moreover in the series of bilingual billon tetradrachms of the horseman /Zeus type, we find two varieties:-

(a) a relatively common variety, with titles of the nameless king
Maharajasa rajatirajasa mahatasa tratarasa
but no name and

(b) a second, extremely rare variety, attested from two specimens only, with the titles of the nameless king with the addition of a new personal name ‘Vima’

The third Kushan king Vima Kadphises also repeated the the titles of the nameless king ‘ Basileus Basileon Soter Megas’ on his own coinage, adding his personal name Vima Kadphises. The sequence of titulature seems to be :-

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (i) | Kujula Kushana Yabgu | the earlier part of Kujula’s reign |
| (ii) | Basileus Basile(u)on Soter Megas | the later part of Kujula’s reign |
| (iii) | Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Vima tak(ta) | the short sole reign of Vima Takto |

(iv) Basileus Basileon Soter Megas Vima Kadphises the reign of Vima Kadphises

with phase (ii) marking the second phase of Kujula Kadphises reign, when he sought to consolidate his empire and its coinage. In all this we see a close parallel with the early Roman empire with which the Kushans had trading links and exchanged embassies. Octavian as heir to his adopted father Caesar had successfully put an end to the Civil Wars by the battle of Actium in 31 BC. In consolidating his victory, he dropped his personal name and assumed the prestigious titles ' Caesar Augustus Imperator'. His successor Tiberius in AD14 continued to use the prestigious titles of his predecessor, adding his personal name to give ' Tiberius Caesar Augustus Imperator'; and the pattern was followed throughout the Julio Claudian period. Closer to hand the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares, the predecessor of Kujula, had been known not by his own name, but by a title 'Vindapherna', winner of glory and some of his successors continued to use his title in addition to their personal name.

Some role for Vima Takt, the son and heir of Kujula, during the reign of his father may perhaps be seen in the Kharoshthi letter 'Vi' in the reverse field of some local issues with the titulature Soter Megas. Indeed the adoption of the Soter Megas coinage with no personal name may well have something to do with the active role played by a ruler designate while his ageing father remained king.

The alternative possibility that the coinage of Soter Megas marks the early phase seems to have little to commend it when we consider the long rule of Kujula Kadphises who died as an octogenarian.

LIGHTS

In conclusion

Without the important evidence of material from scientific excavations such as those at Begram, Ghazni, Hadda, Ai Khanoum, Surkh Kotal and other sites in Afghanistan it would be well nigh impossible to begin to try and reconstruct many periods of Central Asian history, especially where we depend on numismatic evidence. We still do not know very clearly how much has survived the damage inflicted by the long war on Afghanistan's monuments and museums. Perhaps a major aim of this meeting should be to document and encourage the publication of all such material known to the scholarly community from earlier work in Afghanistan.

EPITOME5

**Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage after two Decades of War.**

presented by Dr. Jonathan L. Lee, Sheffield, England

This illustrated presentation will be a report on field work conducted by Dr. Lee in Afghanistan over the last decade and focus particularly on the state of the monuments and archaeology of the country after two decades of war.

Firstly, the lecture will illustrate the impact of the war and the break up of civil society on a number of well-known archaeological sites and monuments in Afghanistan not just in the capital city, Kabul, but also in the northern, central and western provinces. There can be little doubt that the bitter fighting of last two decades, and more particularly, the last few years, has had been a disaster not just in human terms, but also for the material culture of the country. Many of the country's most important monuments have been badly damaged as a direct result of the war and, in some cases, such as the Minar-i Chakari, they have been lost for ever. The archaeology of the region, too, has been mercilessly pillaged and numerous archaeological sites of international importance have been so badly pillaged as to render any further scientific archaeology futile.

Secondly, I will focus on another aspect of the survey, namely the endeavour to locate and record photographically sites and monuments not previously recorded by scholars. To this day much of Afghanistan's rich archaeological heritage remains unrecorded, and I will show a number of monuments, inscriptions, archaeological sites and other finds which have been recorded over the last few years.

Finally, in the light of the gloomy report above, the lecture will conclude with a focus on some local initiatives to preserve the material culture of the country, some of which have been more successful than others. Over the last few years a number of Western NGOs and local commanders have undertaken restoration work on a number of sites and monuments. Most of these attempts have been well-intentioned but, unfortunately, not particularly successful. The recent establishment of a number of pressure and advocacy groups such as this present symposium as well as a number of other agencies in Pakistan and Afghanistan are at least an encouragement, though those based in Pakistan and Afghanistan lack finance, proper expertise and logistical support.

**AFGHANISTAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER TWO DECADES OF WAR**

15-16 October 1999, Californa: Pacific-Asia Museum, Pasadena

*"A Prospective Review of the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan, from Glory to Plunder"*

Pacific-Asia Museum, Pasadena

## ➤ Preamble

In any ~~review~~ examination of Afghanistan's Historical and Archaeological heritage, it is important, ~~initially~~, to obtain as contemporary a view of the state of the monumental and cultural heritage of the country as possible.

It is, of course, impossible to cover all aspects of cultural heritage, since we would be involved not merely with the threat to the archaeology of Afghanistan but also the literary heritage of the country, whether written or verbal, its folk lore and the memories of old men, as well as the libraries and educational heritage which today is ~~as~~ also under threaten~~ed~~ by the continued conflict.

Of course, all these aspects of cultural heritage hold equal importance, but ~~it is my intention in this~~ This symposi is particularly concerned with presentation ~~to concentrate primarily on~~ the archaeological and monumental heritage of Afghanistan.

My main aim is to give the conference visual contact with this heritage and present a general overview of the state of some of the material culture as ~~a backdrop to the ensuing discussions and presentations of the conference.~~ it is at the present moment

## ➤ My background

– One of the very few western scholars still actively doing field work in Afghanistan today.

First, let me say that I am not formally trained as an archaeologist or art historian. Rather I am a historian and a student of Afghanistan and Central Asian religion. However, since 1992, whenever I have been in the field, I have been conducting a photographic survey of monuments and archaeological sites in Afghanistan, mainly in Kabul and North-Central Afghanistan. I was last in Afghanistan in June this year and plan to return again in either November or Spring next year.

I have also published on archaeology of pre-Islamic & Islamic Afg in conjunction with others.

My archaeological survey has been done in tandem with field work for my doctoral thesis for the University of Leeds' Department of Theology and Relligious Studies, on the origins of the New Year Festivals at Mazar-i Sharif.

## ➤ Acknowledgements (funding, personnel etc.)

This work has been enabled by the financial assistance of the Society of South Asian Studies, the British Academy and facilitated on many occasions by the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage and, more recently, by the newly-established Afghan NGO, AFPCHA, under Mir Ahmad Joydenda. I would also like to acknowledge the assistance of Mr Jolyon Lesley of UNDP, Kabul and Mr Mervyn Patterson, currently UN Regional Co-ordination Officer, northern Afghanistan.

## AFGHANISTAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER TWO DECADES OF WAR

### ► Afghanistan's heritage

For anyone who has studied anything about the culture and history of Afghanistan, one thing becomes obvious very soon. The territory which today is encompassed by this country contains a rich and diverse cultural heritage.

For millennia the region has been one of the most important military cross roads and cultural watersheds of Middle-Central Asia. Prehistoric sites such as Mundigak (1959), Nad-i Ali in Sistan (1938) and Aq Kuprak (1959) reveal that from a very early period human society was highly developed. Aq Kuprak, for example, appears to have been an important site for the mining of flint. Much of the region was incorporated into the Achaemenid Empire and, following the overthrow of this Empire, Greek culture was introduced by Alexander the Great and continued under the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom. The Sassanids, Parthians, Kushans, Hephthalites, Hindu Shahis, to name but a few subsequent kingdoms and dynasties, all led sway, at one time or another, over parts of the country.

The Arab-Muslim invasions of the late seventh century onwards added yet another layer to the diverse and polymathic culture of what is today Afghanistan. In the Islamic period, the arrival of Central Asia Turco-Mongolian nomadic groups such as the Saljuks and Ghaznavids, added a further ethnic and linguistic dimension to the area. Later, though the Mongol invasions wreaked much destruction, the successors of Gengiz Khan, Uzbek made their own positive contribution to the cultural heritage. Under the Timurids Herat became one of the great cultural centres of Islamic Asia. Whilst, in more recent times, the Afghan Durranis, all played their part in the artistic and cultural life of what is today Afghanistan.

Furthermore, this region played a major role in the cultural and ideological development of almost all the world's major religions. Balkh, or Bactria, Herat and Sistan were from a very early period important centres for the development of Zoroastrianism. Indeed, ancient Parsee myth claims it was in Balkh where Zoroaster himself took refuge from and where his Dualistic message first established itself as a philosophical and political force. Buddhism, Hinduism, Judaism, Manichaeism and Eastern, Nestorian, Christianity have all played an important role in the religious life of the region. In early Islam, mystics from Balkh were notable contributors to the development of Sufi monism and mystical poetry. Finally, up until just over a century ago, the Kafir peoples of Afghanistan were adherents to an ancient religious tradition rooted in a mixture of ancient Hindu and Mazdean religious tradition.

With such a diverse heritage, it is not just Afghanistan's archaeology which is important, but its folklore, folk religion, folk literature and music.

# AFGHANISTAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER TWO DECADES OF WAR

## ➤ Sites and Excavations

Over the years excavations have only served to confirm the extraordinary nature of Afghanistan's heritage. The French excavations at Ai Khanum, the Kushan dynastic site at Surkh Kotal and Begram, the Russian discoveries in the graves at Tela Tepa, near Shibarghan, to cite but a few of the more well-known excavations, have all provided considerable evidence of the importance of this region in the historical and cultural development of Middle Asia as well as to the extraordinary beauty and richness of the material culture found at these sites.

Afghanistan today contains a number of important pre-Islamic and Islamic monuments. The giant Buddhas of Bamiyan and numerous other important Buddhist sites provide visual and physical evidence of the development of Gandharan culture. In addition, the country is responsible for the protection of important Islamic monuments, such as the Samanid (9th century) mosque of Noh Gunbad, Balkh, the Ghurid Minaret of Djam, the minarets and other Ghaznavid material in Ghazni and the Timurid architecture of Herat.

## ➤ Unrecorded sites

Furthermore, it is clear from my own survey work that in addition to monuments already recorded numerous other important monuments, mostly from the Islamic period, remain to be properly surveyed and recorded. As far back as the 1880s, there have been reports from the upper Murghab and Hari Rud that there is at least one more minaret like that of Djam and over a period of over two decades of travel and research in Afghanistan, I have made notes of a number of other reported monuments in the unexplored mountain regions of Juzjan, Faryab, Badghis, Ghur and Bamiyan.

Given this heritage, the current threat which hangs over many of the monuments and site of the region should be a matter of international concern and action. As we will see, many important archaeological sites and monuments have been damaged as a direct result of shelling, bombing or their use as military posts.. The destruction of the old city of Kabul, the pillaging of the Kabul Museum in 1992 must surely be a matter of national shame as well as international concern, as was the looting of the Kabul Public Library and the Kabul University library.

## ➤ Neglect

Neglect, too, is taking its toll. Though there is, as yet, no official list of the most endangered monuments and sites, today scores of monuments and archaeological sites are in danger of disappearing for ever. Pillaging of sites and monuments appears to particularly affected the Buddhistic and Graeco-Bactrian heritage. Hadda, for example, was not just pillaged but was subject to deliberate iconoclasm. The threat by a local Taliban commander to blow up the statues of the Buddha in Bamiyan exemplifies a wider ideological problem of how an Islamic regime can come to terms with the pre-Islamic

troops, successive pro-Soviet regimes which ruled the country, the mujahidin or the Taliban. No-one has shown much regard for monuments when a battle is raging. And no regime has really been prepared to commit substantial government funds to the preservation or rehabilitation of the cultural heritage. The buck has always tended to be passed to western agencies. But in the end, the initiative and will has to be Afghan-based. After all, its your culture, your heritage, which is going down the tubes.

### ➤ Pillaging

~~Finally, and briefly~~, Apart from the losses inflicted on the cultural heritage from war damage, sheer neglect or localised outburst of religious fanaticism, there have been major loses to the archaeological world as a result of the pillaging and looting of sites all over the country. The break down of central government and civil society in general over the last two decades has opened a cornucopia for dealers in antiquities. For the local villager, an adjacent archaeological site is a welcome supplement to a meagre subsistence existence, especially in areas where much agricultural land lies waste because of a break down in migration systems, unexploded mines and other ordinance, or where the rural population has been at the mercy of local amirs who ruthlessly exploit them, unable to keep pace with hyper-inflation and subject to chronic food shortages. In a country where the average wage of a labourer is less than $10 a month, and that of a civil servant under $5, a chance find of a gold coin or statue can earn a villager a comparative fortune. Today, archaeological sites in Afghanistan are exploited as merely another economic resource, like coal, lapis lazuli or salt. They are mined and the artefacts sold for a song, to well-informed dealers who are well connected with traders based outside the country. Local governors and the population at large, have little sense of the value of these sites as historical in terms of education, their historical significant or the national heritage at large. My own belief is that this trade is a multi-million dollar business. It is often well organised and conducted with the connivance of local amirs and landlords. The consequences have been devastating. Well-known sites such as Ai Khanum, Hadda, Tela Tepa, Tepe Zargaran of Balkh have been systematically pillaged and what is not considered of any value is smashed by the pickaxes and spades of the diggers. More damaging even than this is the fact that thousands of unrecorded and unsurveyed sites have been looted to bedrock and a vast amount of antiquities have disappeared for ever into private collections in Asia, Europe, N. America and the Middle East.

### ➤ Light in the gloom

There has been, however, some light amidst the general gloom. Under both Ustad Rabbani and the Taliban, efforts have been made to save what is left of the Kabul museum. Today there is a growing interest in government circles about the need to do something more particularly with the Islamic heritage of the country. The establishment of the present International Committee here in California, and its advocacy work at

the work of Dr. Dupree and SPACH in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Another light in the darkness has been the grant made by the Swiss Government to Bibliotheca Afghanica, for the establishment of an Afghanistan museum in Switerland. I am pleased to report this work is now well underway and plans and details of the museum are available for inspection.

There have also been a number of individual efforts to do something about the cultural heritage. In 1993, Ismail Khan, the Jamiyat military ruler of Herat reopened the Herat Museu, which included Gandharan figurines, Ghaznavid bronzes and even a scroll of the Torah from one of herat's Jewish synagogues.

In Bamiyan, Ustad Khalili interrdicted all illegal excavations, apppointed Haji Safad as head of the Bamiyan Preservation Society and was the prime mover in the saving of the late Bactrian inscription and coin horde from Tang-i Safedak. He also gather a numbe rof other finds together, one of which included a three hundred year old Hebrew prayer book in a remarkable state of preservation.

In Pul-i Khumri, Sayyid Jafar Nadiri, reclaimed a number of Ghaznavid bronzes and Graeco-Bactrian statues and prevented the break up of one of the most important Bactrian inscription ever to be uncovered in Afghanistan, that of Rabatak, which has led to the rewriting of much of early Kushan dynastic history.

In the last decade a number of western NGOs have commissioned preservation work on Pul-i Malan and Gahar Shad's mausoleum in Herat, the re-covering of the 'Abbasid mosque of No Gunbad near Balkh, and work on the Bagh-i Bala in Kabul. Unfortunately, this work has not been properly supervised and done my local engineers who tend to be rather too free with the cement and the results have varied from disastrous to unimpressive.

More recently a local Afghan NGO, AFPCHA, headed by the former head of the Institute of Archaeological, Mir Ahmad Joyenda, in association with SPACH, has begun surveying a number of monuments in the Kabul area. .

## My work

Over the course of the last eight years, I have visited a number important sites in Afghanistan. As well as the Kabul valley, I have spent time in Logar, Balkh, Mazar-i Sharif, Sar-i Pul, Shibarghan, Bamiyan, Yakolang and Herat. In addition, I have been fortunate enough to have been able to travel to a number of other, more inaccessible regions, particularly mountains of the Tir Band-i Turkistan south-east of Maimana and south-west of Sar-i Pul, and the remote and still barely surveyed province of Badghis.

because these were the first ***coins***, they were also the first currency. If ancient Babylonia, Assyria, or pre-Hellenistic Iran did not know coinage in the strict sense, that is not to say that they possessed no medium of *currency*.

Note is nowadays being regularly taken of finds of what we may call bulk silver [SLIDE 1:Ring-money] [SLIDE 2:Rings and cut silver] deposits of uncoined silver, prepared in one of several forms. Probably the most ancient is "ring-money", silver rings shaped like a finger-ring of two or three spiral turns. Weights are not very precisely adjusted, but there is reason to believe their area of circulation centred round Babylonia, and that the medial weight of these units was that of the Babylonian shekel, 8.35 gms. Other varieties of bulk silver consist of what we may call slab ingots, and cut silver. The slab-ingots are rectangular metal plates, approximating to the size of a human hand; but few complete slab-ingots survive, and generalisation is difficult. However, cut silver [SLIDE 3: Nush-i Jan cut silver], sometimes known by the German designation of *Hacksilber*, consists of irregular small pieces chopped from larger ingots, including slab-ingots, and very roughly adjusted, again, to a shekel standard clustering round 8.40 gms. Like all the other varieties under these ingot systems, all these varieties of currency, together with many other forms of scrap silver and broken jewelery, were reckoned by weighing on the scales, at the standards in force at any particular moment. The most famous of these standards was of course the Babylonian standard already mentioned, but many other rulers enlarged or reduced the shekel standards of different areas under their control for fiscal purposes. At one time, in recently conquered Babylonia, the formidable Assyrian kings seem to have forced up the shekel standard, issuing new

# AFGHANISTAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER TWO DECADES OF WAR

## ➤ Presentation outline

The following presentation is designed not as a technical discussion of the art history of Afghanistan but to give participants an overview of the critical situation which today faces the cultural heritage of Afghanistan.

Moving in an arc from the Kabul area northwards through central Afghanistan to Balkh and on to Herat I will show you a number of sites which have suffered varying degrees of damage as a direct result of the conflict Perhaps at this point I should warn all those, Afghan and western alike, who have not visited Afghanistan in the last ten years or so, to be prepared for a rather unpleasant shock.

Secondly, I propose to show you a number of important monuments and archaeological sites which have come to light as a result of my survey work in the country. retracing our footsteps backwards from Herat through northern Afghanistan, our tour will include a number of important early Islamic sits from Badghis Province, an area which is of particular interest, since up until the conquest of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, this area was the largest pagan enclave in the Islamic world as well as having been used by as a refuge by a number of heretical Islamic sects in the pre-Mongol period.

Another of my interests is the 18th/19th century history of northern Afghanistan and as part of my survey, I have made set out to try and visit and locate architectural and archaeological sites related to this period of Uzbek and Afghan history. Here, I must disagree profoundly with my good friend Warwick Ball, the author of the "*Archaeological Gazetteer of Afghanistan*", and probably a number of distinguished members of this present audience. It has been rather a tendency of western art historians to assume that all significant architectural activity in Central Asia ended with fall of Timurid power in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Yet it is cleat that the Shaibanids and their various Uzbek successors who ruled Balkh and Turkistan until the end of the last century, made a considerable contribution to the architectural and archaeological heritage of the region, as did Ahmad Shah Durrani and his successors.

Another reason for this particular aspect of my work, is that it is clear from many different sources that northern Afghanistan's cultural heritage has suffered severely in the last century and a half. Firstly, in the wake of the defeat of Sardar Muhammad Ishaq Khan by Amir Abd al-Rahman Khan in 1888, and again, in the present century, under the governorship of Gul Muhammad Mohmand during Nadir Shah's reign. In the 1930s and 40s, many important monuments connected the Balkh's Uzbek amirates were deliberatly levelled. These included the destruction of numerous covered bazaars, and the levelling of ancient fortifications and fortresses (*args*).

Perhaps, though, when talking of cultural vandalism, it is important to remember at the outset that in our discussions and examination of the destruction wrought over the last decade by the Afghan Soviet war, the fighting between mujahidin groups and, more

## AFGHANISTAN'S CULTURAL HERITAGE AFTER TWO DECADES OF WAR

- → **Shah Jehan's** oratory still more or less intact. Top of one of turrets broken off, shell damage to marble facia. Water leaking through roof.
- → **Babur's tomb** intact though damage to the 19th C. canopy around it. Most of graves of his family intact.
- → **Babur's Garden**: Abd al-Rahman Khan's haramsarai in S.E. corner of garden, though, a wreck and probaly still mined.
- → **Qabr-i Gora and Stein's tomb**. Damage and looting, but Stein and 2nd Afghan War graves more or less intact.
- → **Darulaman Palace/Min. of Justice**
- → **Kabul Museum.**
- → **Logar Valley, Guldara**: view of main stupa and vihara in 1978
- → **Guldara Stupa in 1998**, diggings have undercut dome and direct hit by bomb.
- → **3 shots of Minar-i Chakari:** before and after.
- → **BAMIYAN**, Buddhas. Lesser Buddha recent damage in bombing. Damage to Kakrak Buddha.Some work done here last year by Paul Bucherer of Bibliotheca Afghanica.
- → **BALKH:** Mediaeval walls at Burg-i Ayaran. Some digging here and the main arg being extensive dug.
- → **BALKH**: **Khwaja Parsa**: damage to restored ribbed dome. Also building of local mosque attached to it, access through door shrine. Work on Rabi'a-i Balkhi shrine and cemetery in front thrown up lot of marble and carved stone, probably from Subhan Quli's madrassa The arch of his madrassa still survives, but very precarious and much of tilework has fallen or been removed.
- → **BALKH: Haji Piyada**, some rain and wind damage to Samanid mosque. Attempts to repair roof by SCF(USA) failed due to uncoperative attitude of local people.
- → **BALKH: Tepe Zargaran**, dug by French in 1940s, now almost totally stripped. Still, though, traces of mediaval staircases and a well which have been ignored as they are though to be of no value to the excavators. Lot of digging in citadel too.
- → **IMAM SAHIB**:able to report one good thing, two Ghaznavid(?) shrines are intact and well looked after by local Pushtun shaikhs.
- → **SHIBARGHAN**: Moving westwards from Balkh on main road, we pass the site of Tela Tepa, now in a military zone but, even so, comprehensively looted.
- → Finally, in this review, no such presentation can be made without reference to Herat. Views of city, minarets etc. Loss of one minaret (madrassa) and two of masalla minarets threatened by shell damage.

Hence, any attempt to restore monuments, or preserve the country's archaeological treasures, is but putting a finger in the dyke only for it to flood out elsewhere. Unless there is a proper educational programme which promotes pride in the cultural heritage of the country and the importance of it to national identity and a sense of pride and citizenship, the degradation of Afghanistan's rich and diverse heritage will continue and in fifty years time many of the photographs I have shown you today will be but a remembrance of a heritage long since lost through deliberate vandalism, casual pillage or sheer neglect and indifference.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

Such, I am afraid, is the depressing news from Afghanistan, though, as I have pointed out, there is some encouragement in the various initiatives going on at the moment. However, such work is done by a small, dedicated band of people, mostly, like me, in middle age or retirement. The work of conserving the cultural heritage of Afghanistan, though, is often a thankless one and one which is costly in every respect. Though there are hopeful signs that something can be done, we urgently require the infusion of a new generation of younger scholars to undertake the many tasks which face us. At the same time, financial support for survey work, advocacy, and wider educational work aimed at the next generation of Afghans, is urgently needed if the degradation of the cultural heritage at all levels is to be halted. I am, to be honest, not optimistic, neither about the political future of the country nor about the chances of saving many of the monuments and sites in the country. That is not to say there is not a lot of goodwill, but this does not pay airfares, provide salaries for specialists in conservation, for field archaeologist or office facilities, nor conserve monuments. If there is not a sea change in attitudes, within the next decade the world will have lost more important monuments from Afghanistan and everyone, including Afghans, will be the poorer for it. At the same time, as age finally overtakes those few of us working in the field, we will see even those few battling away as best we can, disappearing from the scene with no-one to fill our shoes.

Encourage younger gen to study

recently, between the mujahidin commanders and the Taliban, as well as the devastations wreaked by pillagers and the illegal antiquities trade, that some of the greatest acts of vandalism to Afghanistan cultural heritage was carried out by the British. In 1879 the famous Masalla of Gauhar Shad, and a number of small shrines, was levelled by British Engineers because it was deemed to offer cover to Russian troops which were assumed to be on the verge of invasion. Earlier, in the aftermath of the First Anglo-Afghan war the great covered bazaar in Kabul was burnt as a reprisal for the death of MacNaughten, Burnes and others. In the Second Anglo-Afghan War, the British also levelled large areas of Kabul's lower Bala Hissar, including, as far as I can gather, the ancient Armenian and Hindu quarters, whilst the Armenian church itself, was destroyed by British gunfire.

often comments from floor about dating of some items: — comments on iconography. — Many of these still to be published.

## SLIDES

➔ **KHYBER PASS:** travel by road through Khyber Pass reminds one of the history of invasion and counterinvasion which has made Afghanistan so culturally rich.

➔ Also reminder of more peaceful invasion, the Buddhist stupa at the mouth of the Khyber is a reminder of the importance of 'the other' in defining national identity, the need to recognise that other influences, other than Islam, have made their contribution to the cultural heritage of this region.

➔ **2 slides:** entering Afghanistan is entering a different world, the poor man's moon. One danger for the field scholar being mines.

➔ **4 slides: Kabul:**city of destruction, ruins everywhere. fighting of 1992 reaped a bitter reward.. Old city

➔ **Ashiqan and Arifan**: 18th and 19th century gravestones ruined. Number of other interesting graveyards from 17th century onwards lost.

➔ **Bala Hissar**: occupied by Dostam's Uzbek militia and scene of bitter fighting. From distance appears quite a lot of damage to walls and probably to interior too.

➔ To north-east on hill of Tepa Maranjan, **Nadir Shah's** tomb, is a virtual ruin.

➔ As is the tomb of his great grandfather, **Sultan Muhammad Telai**.

➔ Fortunately, mines do have one benefit, inasmuch as they prevent pillage of sites. The Buddhist stupa and vihara at **Tepe Maranjan** being such an example. Tepe Maranjan, also, was the site of one of the Jewish cemeteries of Kabul, though it seems nothing now remains.

➔ **Bagh-i Babur:** not so lucky. Also frontline. Picture of Gardens in 1970s, contrast with present sitiuation. Trees stripped, canals blocked and stream/irrigation ditch which fed gardens broken.

➔ View of some of the antiquities and other items seen in area.

➤ **case 2**

➔ **BADGHIS, Sabzak Pass:** Moving away from the destruction, and there is, regretably, a lot more of it, I turn now to some of the new sites and monuments which I have been fortunate enough to record over the last 8 years or so. First, we move eastwards from Herat across the Sabzak Pass (prefereably with our eyes closed and a prayer on our lips), into the virtually unexplored province of Badghis.

➔ **BADGHIS**: Laman. At the northern foot of the Sabzak Pass is Laman, a mediaval graveyard still contains remains of two uninscribed Ghurid shrines.In the same graveyard is a curious inscription on red sandstone which looks like like a cross between Greek, Syriac and early Arabic. Other traces, which seem to be like carvings, on a similar red stone suggest that this may once had been part of a pre-Islamic structure, perhaps a shrine to some god.

On the other, northern, side of the road, is a large citadel site which has been dug extensively and a large amount of Ghaznavid domestic bronzeware has been discovered.

➔ **BADGHIS**: Qala-yi Naraiman: About 2 hours horse ride to the south-west of this village lies the imposing citadel of Qala-yi Naraiman, the Masada of Afghanistan, for this was probably one of the strongholds of the Assassins, mentioned in the Tabaqat-i Nasiri and which was certainly one of those citadels stormed by the Mongols. This massive citadel is approached by a fearsome climb under the still massive walls. At the top, western, end of the site are huge cisterns dug out of the solid rock and this small burnt brick shrine dedicated to Ali b. Abi Talib. Local excavators have found huge amounts of military materiel here, swords, spears, armour, sheilds etc. as well as skeletons. The whole surface of the site is littered with pottery shards.

➔ Moving eastwards into Badghis, to the south of the modern town of Qadis lies another important site. Monumental remains, mostly footings for wooden pillars, and which bear a remarkable similarity to Kushan stonework, have been carved over with Arabic inscriptions. These pillars appear to have been part of what may have been a Ghaznavid mosque and administrative centre. Certainly Ghaznavid stucco and tiles have been discovered behind this site.

➔ North of Qadis lies the medieaval Sufi centre of **Laman** with its remarkable collection of pre-Mongol gravestones which, as far as I can ascertain, have not been previously recorded.

➔ **QALA-YI MALAKANTARIAN**: heavily dug. Again, pre-Islamic remains, including a frieze of what appears to be three Sasanid deities, have been found. There were also traces of rounded pillars, possibly minarets of a Ghaznavid mosque.

➔ Moving north again., back along the Herat-Balkh road, we come to Maimana and the Gurziwan region, another area rich in archaeology but hardly surveyed. Here, in 1978, and again in the autumn of 1996, I photographed this latee 3trd early 4th century Sasanid religious painting in the mountains of Ghulbiyan. Important religious site, central deity identified by Grenet as Tishtrya.

➔ **SHIBARGHAN**: Played an important part in 18/19th history of Afghanistan and Bukhara, one of the 4 Wilayat who so fiercely resisted the invasion of Dost Muhammad Khan and his successors. Mosque of Mullah Aka Ibn Yaman Shibarghani an example of the late 18th early 19th century mihrab.

➔ **SHIBARGHAN:** Also in old town is mosque of Mir Hakim Khan, the most famous of all 19th century Uzbek Amirs to rule Shibarghan, whose battles with the Afghans are related in my book on the subject.

➔ **SHIBARGHAN**: though unable to inspect or survey the old citadel, as it is a military site, I was able to locate the ancient, mediaval doors of this arg, which were in the possession of a local trader, who had bought them some four or five decades ago when they, and many other artefacts, were being sold off by the then governor, Gul Muhammad Mohmand.

➔ **SAR-I PUL**: Moving south, we arrive in Sar-i Pul and no visit to this town is possible without paying respects to the two Seljuq shrines of Imam Yahya (Imam-i Khurd) and Imam-i Kalan. Fortunately, one is able to report they are both in excellent condition, though the are suffering somewhat from leaky roofs. Reports that they have been pillaged and the inscriptions and panels sold off, can be discounted.

➔ **DARA-YI BAND**: south-west of Sar-i Pul, in the Sayyid wulswali, lies this extraordianry and imposing secular structure, a dam which local people attribute to Sultan Husain Baiqara. This dam once irrigated many thousands of hectares of land to the south-west of Sar-i Pul but is not defunct. This massive dam, which apparently has iron sluice gates inside the walls which are operated from the top of the structure, has yet to be dated, possibly 18th century?

➔ Moving back to the **Balkh** area, to the south of the main road from Mazar-i Sharif to the airport is the settlement of **Khwaja Katal** which has a mosque and khanqa commissioned in the last century by the famous Naqsbandiyya shaikh, Khwaja Darulaman, whose last resting place is in the main shrine of Ali in the city. Khawja Darulaman was the spiritual sucessor to the famous Khwaja of Karukh who lost his life fighting the Persians in the early part of the 19th century.

➔ So we turn to **Mazar-i Sharif** itself and the shrine of Hazrat Ali. This been subject to repair by Dostam in 1996, lot of damage done to the tilework (mostly 18th-19th century), though reroofing and work to draining appears to have been successful.

(and to tomb of [illegible] Ali Khan)

Donald M. Stadtner

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20 minutes

# Details of Padmapani & Visnu

Fondukistan, Bamiyan, Hadda, Gilgit. These evocative names testify to the rich Buddhist civilization that flourished long after the decline of the Kushans. But our archaeological record is plagued by enormous gaps, made worse since excavations in Afghanistan have been halted for over twenty years. Indeed, the turmoil south of the Oxus, coupled with the rise of the Taliban and the trafficking of antiquities in neighboring Pakistan has resulted in a number of objects~~, such as these two,~~ appearing on the international art market over the last few years. My purpose today is to explore with you the significance of a handful hitherto unpublished objects. Since these objects are without proper provenance, the question of their original findspots and indeed their very authenticity becomes paramount.

#. Surya

Although the Chinese pilgirm Xuangzang noted that both Buddhists and Hindus shared the northwest, it was not until 1934 that a French mission in Afghanistan uncovered the first significant Hindu sculpture. This now well-known Surya in white marble was formerly in the Kabul Museum and it was excavated in the environs of Kabul. The date of this Surya has been assigned anywhere between the fourth century or as late as the eighth century. But for many decades this Surya was the sole surviving proof of Hindu worship in post-Kushan Afghanistan.

# Kabul Ganesas

Major breakthroughs came, however, in the 1950s, when two marble images of Ganesa were discovered in Kabul. The most important ~~on the right)~~ was first published in 1958 by Professor Taddei in East and West. This Ganesa was originally found about 70 miles south of Kabul, in Gardez.

# Ganesa - general

These magnificent black and white photographs were kindly supplied by Professor Shoshin Kuwayama of Kyoto University who for many years excavated jointly with the Dept. of Archaeology in Kabul.

# Front and Back.

The roughly hewn base and the abbreviated detailing on the reverse side of the ~~figure~~ Ganesha are characteristics that also mark the unpublished sculptures that we will examine momentarily.

# Inscription

The Sanskrit inscription records the donation of Ganesa, referred to as "Maha-vinayaka." The donor's titles include pararma-bhattaraka and Maharajadiraja. The king's name is given as Khingala. The paleography of these proto-Sarada characters suggests a seventh-century date, according to Lore Sander of Berlin. This Khingala is most likely a Hepthalite monarch ruling

in the seventh century, for a legend on certain Hepthalite coins contain a very similar name (Khingila). There is also a Khingala (Khinkhila) mentioned in the very late Kashmiri chronicle, the Rajatarangi, who was a descendent of the famous Mihirakula. Professor Kuwayama has argued, however, that this Khingala and this Ganesa should be dated to the first half of the eighth century. For Kuwayama, Khingala was not a Hepthalite but belonged to the Turki Shahi Dynasty that ruled from Kabul. This Turki Shahi Dynasty was later eclipsed by the Hindu Shahis who ruled exclusively in Pakistan, from Udabandapura, or modern Hund , west of Taxila. Both the Turki Shahis and the Hindu Shahis are known largely from a meagre page of two of Alberuni's famous history of India.

#

For numerous reasons, Kuwayama's 8th century date is too late, nor is it likely that this Khingala is a Turki Shahi ruler. I therefore prefer to see this Khingala as a Hepthalite, ruling in the Kabul region during the seventh century. Khingala's relationship to the coins of Napki Malka and the later drachms of Vrahitigin remains to be worked out.

# Uma Mahesvara

Before excavations ceased in Afghanistan, Kuwayama and his team uncovered in 1974 ~~this~~ a now well-known Uma Mahesvara, 15 miles north of Kabul. Like the Ganesa, it has a large rough base and

is only poorly worked on the reverse side.

#

The crown of the the seated Siva resembles the largely abraided crown remaining on the Ganesa image. The crescent shaped ornament in the center probably derives ultimately from earlier Sassanian models.

#

The Sanskrit inscription provides no information about donors, simply a poetic description of Siva and Parvati.
Its proto-Sharada characters relate closely to the paleography of the Ganesa and therefore the two images likely share a date within the same seventh century. Kuwayama, on the other hand, regards this image as 8th century and, like the Ganesa, a product of the Turki Shahis of Kabul.

# Side view of child

This nude child has been identified as Skanda or Kartikkeya, but the child bears no resemblance to conventional Skanda imagery from anywhere in India. Rather, this nude child clinging to his mother's drapery should remind us all of

~~#. Hariti~~ .

. . . typical Hariti images from the much earlier Kushan period--where such children routinely cling to the drapery.

weights, until it reached 16.80 grams, a level effectively implying a penal doubling of the rates of taxation.

A third variety of bulk silver [SLIDE [4]: Cakes and bars][SLIDE [5]:Bars from Nush-i Jan] appears in the form of cake-ingots. These are circular, flattish cakes. They were made by pouring molten silver into a jar, and resembling what we call in the UK "Easter biscuits". The weight approximates to the Babylonian *mina* -- the unit known all over the Middle East to-day as the *mann* or maund. This unit consisted of 60 shekels, which, if adjusted to the Babylonian standard, would amount to 504 gms., though many surviving examples are below this weight. These ingots are found around what is called the Fertile Crescent, from N. Iraq to southern Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt.

The last, and from our point of view the most interesting of the forms of bulk silver is that which may be called the bar ingot. These are roughly rectangular bars, manufactured by different processes, and varying greatly in size and weight. Those found in Iran at the site of Nūsh-i Jān, near Malayer, belong to the late seventh century B.C., under the Median Kingdom. They seem to represent a scale of weights running from 12.19gm. and 24.00gm to over 100gm. One might suggest these could represents units, doubles and octuples of a shekel standard resting a little above 12 gm. They belong to a period nearly a century earlier than the re-introduction of the Babylonian standard by Darius in around 518 B.C.

Further light is thrown on the currency of these distant days by a group of bar-ingots [SLIDE [6]: Mir Zakah bars] acquired by the Kabul Museum at some time

# Hariti-Pancika

Indeed, Prof. Taddei has noted that this marble Uma-Mahesvara from post-Kushan Afghanistan is evidence for the powerful lingering influence of much earlier Gandharan traditions.

# Uma-Mahesvara detail

Such peculiar, really anomalous Hindu iconography raises an important question. What if this sculpture was not excavated in Afghanistan but rather turned up without provenance in the sales rooms of New York or London. What would be our honest reaction. Some would say, Oh look how clumsy the fakers made Siva's arm. Or, I have never seen a third-eye protruding this way into the hair? But I think most of us would be troubled by how those careless forgers in Peshawar have borrowed the little nude child from earlier Hariti images. Yet, we would all be wrong, since it is an excavated piece. This lesson forcefully reminds us that iconographic anomalies are to be expected on the periphery of Indian civilization. For example, at least one Hindu god was worshipped within a Buddhist monastery.

# cover of Arch. book and vihara plan

This clay object belonged to a life-size image of Durga that was excavated within a Buddhist monastery. This vihara south of

Kabul was presented at the first annual meeting of this organization in Cambridge by Taddei. The eighth-century date that he suggests indicates that some shrines in the Kabul area were by that time ~~were~~ reflecting a syncretic form of worship. Other fragmentary images of Durga were found near Kabul in 1950s, but they are of marble and their religious contexts could not be determined.

Up until 1998, Kuwayama and others have understandably argued that marble was restricted to Hindu images. Indeed, not a single Buddhist object in marble from the entire region had yet been discovered.

# insc. padmapani

These unpublished objects, however, now prove that Buddhist images were also commissioned in marble. All of the objects are in private collections and will be published later this fall.

# reverse

Like the other examples, the figure stands on a roughly hewn base. The detailing on the reverse is also treated in a summary fashion. The front has been cleaned, but on the reverse you can detect the course patina, built up over centuries.

#

A small seateed Buddha in the crown suggests that the figure is Avalokitesvara.

#

Epigraphists who have examined the Sanskrit inscription for me include Gauresvar Bhattacharya, B.N. Mukherjee, Lore Sander and Oscar Von Hinuber. The general agreement is that the inscription records only that this pious gift (devadharma) was made by Cadola, the son of Pitrothaka. [ayam devadharmo yam cadolasya pitrothakaputrasy]

The characters are not in proto-Sharada that we saw with the Ganesa and the Uma-Mahesvar but conform to the normal northwestern Gupta type script datable to the late 5th century. It is therefore at least a century earlier than the inscribed Ganesa and Uma Mahesvara whose paleography suggests a seventh century date. The characters also resemble the inscription of Toramana, found at Kura in Pakistan, dedicating a Buddhist vihara.

#

Although this image is earlier than the Uma Mahesvara, there are important points of continuity, notably the morphology of the Cresent shaped crown. There are other points of continuity among these images and indeed such similarity is a major reason for associating these unprovenanced pieces with Afghanistan.

#

Also, please note the very Guptaesque treatment of the upavita, Similar twisted strands are of course found in Kushan work but the handling evokes the best of Gupta sculpture.

#

Another remarkable marble Buddhist image to emerge recently is a seated Avalokitesvara, identified by the small seated Buddha in the headdress. This seated figure should be associated with the previous Bodhisattva, therefore placing it in the late 5th century. The skull is reminiscent of skulls held by monks among the stucco imagery at Hadda. Indeed, a recently discovered fresco at Hadda depicts an entire skeleton, flanked by two rows of monks.

The figure's right hand was originally held to his forehead, proved by a single surviving finger that awkwardly projects outward just below the headband.

This oddly positioned finger now disfigures the face, but its freak survival proves that the hand once extended to the forehead. It's also important in helping to confirm the authenticity of the figure. This cross-legged pensive posture is of course found in Gandharan art but Kushan Bodhisattvas in this pose do not have a Buddha within the headress. This composition is however, fairly common in neighbouring Kashmir

among later bronze work.

2nd bodhisattva figure here ?

# ~~Harish Patel bodhisattva contrast with Kushan Bodhis. (S.F.?).~~

The earliest example within this unpublished group is an extrordinary marble Bodhisattva in a private collection in New York. Its frontal, symmetical pose distinguishes it from typical Kushan bodhisattvas whose torso are generally slightly twisted. Also, this marble figure lacks the ubiquitous upper garment of Kushan sculpture. While Kushan Bodhisattvas are usually adorned with artificial headdresses, here there are only rows of large curls. The head has been joined to the body in recent times, but the fact the curls on the head extend below the fracture to the figure's shoulders prove that the head is original. Another modern break is visible at waist level.

# necklace and reverse

The necklace, with two makara heads supporting a small ornament, derives of course from Kushan traditions. However, here the bottom of the necklace supports a small seated Buddha in perhaps an unprecedented fashion. Also, the odd way in which the dhoti terminates on the reverse is to my mind one more argument augmenting the figure's authenticity.

If the two preceeding Avaloitshvaras can be considered late fifth century, then this bodhisattva perhaps belongs to fourth

century, or possibly earlier, based largely on an undeniable affinity with Kushan art. It may have come from the Kabul region or somewhere from ancient Gandhara in Pakistan. The marble Surya from the Kabul area that we began with should also probably date to this phase or even somehwat earlier, since that Surya has more to do with Kushan art than our late fifth century examples.

~~# Hund linga~~

Marble sculpture is also found in Pakistan. The Hindu Shahis ruled in Pakistan, from the ninth to tenth centuries when they were defeated by Mahmud of Ghazni. Their capital was west of Taxila at Hund. These Shahis in Pakistan used marble for some of their inscriptions, so that we know that marble quarries were at hand. This marble linga on the left was found at Hund which closely resembles this example in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. But very few sculptural works can be associated with the Hindu Shahis in Pakistan.

~~# Vaikuntha / Front and back~~

One object that can possibly ascribed to the Hindu Shahis of Pakistan is this marble Vaikuntha image, probably dating to the eighth or ninth century. Oxidation of iron and manganese has produced over centuries the darker segments, according to the object□s scientific technical report.

#

the figure fits snugly into a separately carved base.

#

The boar and lion heads and the face of Kapila are in the prescribed positions. Vaikunthas in Kashmir normally hold a lotus and a conch but here it is only a lotus.

#

An usual feature is of course the absence of the cakra and gada purusas. Instead, two male attendants hold lotuses.
That the sculpturs elected to depart from the standard iconography is yet another reason to think that this work should be linked to a peripheral region.

#

At the same time, many of the motifs reveal a debt to neighbouring Kashmir, such as tight fitting garb of the attendants. Also, the two lotuses supporting the feet of the figure are found in Kashmir, at least among bronzes.

# base & Kashmir Smats?

The cris-crossed tubular decorative band at the top is nearly identical to a pattern found at the ninth century (mid) Avantisvami Temple in Kashmir. A similar motive is found among a

group of ninth-century wooden architectural members from Pakistan, now in the British Museum. The wide floral band at the at bottom relates to a schist lintel published found in Swat, north of Hund, but which was probably controlled by the Shahis. This lintel from Swat is now in Rome and was published Taddei who dated it to the early 8th century and associated it with the Shahis in Swat. Like this Vaikuntha, Taddei also felt that the lintel reflected elements from both Kashmir and north India.

* Kashmir Vaik.

Of course there are many things about the figure which do not relate to Kashmir, notably the facial type. At the same time the square kirita crown relates more to north India.

There were also the Patola Shahi dynasy known from the Gilgit Buddhist manuscripts and one eighth century Buddhist bronze. But I am not aware that marble was used that far north, in Gilgit.

In the British museum you will recall a marble bust of Vaikuntha that was found near Hund. This Vaikuntha in the British Museum is significant, since it firstly proves that this Vaikuntha form of Visnu was worshipped among the Shahis at Hund. Secondly, that the British Museum object is in marble indicates that Vaikunthas were made in this material. Future scientific studies can help relate the different types of marble to specific sites in the area. For this reason, the samples missing from the Kabul museum would be especially useful. In Pakistan, Michael Meister has

been working closely with the Pakistani Dept. of Arch. and I am sure that many of these gaps will be closed after more exploration.

# Padmapani and Vaikuntha

To conclude this preliminary study, we can now suggest that the well-known Ganesa and Uma Mahesvara of the seventh century were preceeded in the fifth century by a robust school of sculpture that has hitherto been unrecognized. Moreover, these bodhisattvas prove for the first time that marble was used for Buddhist subjects as well as Hindu. The Ganesa, the Uma Mahesvara and the three marble bodhisattvas should also not be linked to the Turki Shahis of Kabul or to the Hindu Shahis of Pakistan. At least the Ganesa should probably be ascribed to the Hephtalites and not to the Turki Shahis. Indeed, for a number of reasons we may find that Alberuni's Turki Shahis had no real separate existence, unlike the Hindu Shahis whose historicity cannot be doubted. Finally, this marble Vaikuntha probably belongs to the Hund region or perhaps further north. The Vaikuntha, whether eighth or ninth century, is significant, since it suggests how Kashmiri and north Indian modes blended in this region, as we would expect. Also, the high calibre of this object is a poignant reminder of the enormous amount sculpture that has been lost over the centuries.

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**URGENT**

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CLT/CH/02/1/AFG-USA/668 12 October 1999

Subject: **International Symposium on the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan ICSCHA, Pacific Museum, Pasadena CA, USA, 15-16 October 1999**

Dear Ms. Mustamandy,

I have the pleasure to send herewith my brief paper to be addressed to your forthcoming Symposium. Once again, please accept and convey to your partners and participants the most sincere appreciation of UNESCO for the timely Symposium organization and the untiring efforts being made toward the safeguarding of the Afghanistan's outstanding cultural heritage.

UNESCO and I should be further happy to be advised on ways to improve its international activities in this field and to receive from you the conclusions of the Symposium.

Yours sincerely.

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after 1948. Of these 38 pieces, four run from 12.76gm. to 11.73gm., evidence of a high shekel standard before the time of Darius the Great. One meticulously shaped and adjusted bar [SLIDE 7: Kabul Daric bar] weighs precisely 8.34gm., exactly equalling the dominant weight of the Persian gold Daric. Yet perhaps the most informative specimen of all is a small fragment of 1.39gm. This seems to be a *danaka-*, the *dāng*, a fraction representing the eighth of a high shekel of 11.12gm., or a sixth of the Babylonian shekel of 8.34gm. One may guess that the weight standards in force in the Achaemenid Empire during the sixth century B.C. must have been falling, from a figure of over 12 gm. in the time of Cyrus the Great, to the level of 11.12gm. before the reform of Darius. The Persian silver coin, the siglos, at a weight of 5.56gm. represented the half of this shekel. This standard of 11.12gm. provides the figure adopted for the bent-bar coins of Gandhara, and probably indicates a date-line after 530 B.C.

One of the most famous coin-finds of recent times in Afghanistan was the Chaman-i Huzūrī hoard [SLIDE 8: Chaman Huzuri obverses] 9: Chaman Huzuri reverses], found in 1933 on the parade-ground at the eastern side of Kabul city. This find contained a wide variety of Greek and Levantine coins, providing a date of deposit around 380 B.C. The roll-call on my slide, taken long ago in 1962 with the generous permission of the Kabul Museum authorities, is as follows: Tarsus, Corcyra, Citium, Aspendus; Mallus, Paphos, Celenderis; Citium again, Countermarked coin, Countermarked coin, Aspendus again; enigmatic coin, enigmatic coin, Soli, Persia -- siglos, enigmatic coin. These Greek coins had no doubt found their way into the Achaemenid Persian empire through tribute or trade, and then passed, in the hands of Persian traders or officials, to their eastern provinces, which for some time included Kabul.

**UNESCO**

**International Symposium on the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan**
**ICSCHA, Pacific Museum, Pasadena CA, USA, 15-16 October 1999**

## Save the Endangered Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan

Hideo Noguchi,
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UNESCO, Paris

1. On behalf of the UNESCO Director-General, my colleagues and myself, it is both honour and privilege to present a brief paper to the International Symposium. This Symposium is very important in the sense that the discussions will be made on the outstanding value of the Afghan culture, history and cultural and natural heritage and that international solidarity can be shown once again toward the safeguarding and promotion of them. The present paper is to illustrate the recent efforts made to that effect at the international level.

2. To show how much UNESCO has been involved in the safeguarding of the Afghan cultural heritage for a long time, it is recalled that the General Conference adopted resolutions in the 1970s to authorize the Director-General to launch an international appeal for the protection of Bamiyan and Herat Cultural Heritage. This International Safeguarding Campaign, which is one of the 30 Campaigns of UNESCO, is presently under preparation. In addition, the Director-General launched three appeals in 1998-1999, calling for the respect for the cultural heritage of Bamiyan and Kabul and other places and for cultural rights.

3. An International Meeting of Experts on the Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage was organized in UNESCO on 30 September 1998. UNESCO's major partner organizations, namely ICA, ICOM, ICOMOS, IFLA and many experts participated in the Meeting. The Recommendations adopted on that occasion were presented to the Director-General, who has been issuing a periodic paper on the implementation of the Recommendations (the text attached). The issues addressed by the Recommendations are, among others, (1) the promotion of the cultural heritage if possible by processing a nomination application of the Afghan monuments and sites, such as Bamiyan and Heart, for the inscription on the World Heritage List and for the International Register for the Memory of the World, (2) the international communications and co-ordination concerning the rescue operations, (3) the publication of the stolen objects inventory.

4. In response to the appeal of the Director-General, the Government of Italy approved, on 30 September 1998, the UNESCO/Italy/SPACH project for the protection of the Afghanistan's cultural property. The purpose of the project is to assist in the emergency consolidation works for the selected historic buildings and archaeological sites, to review and develop inventories and action plans, by providing facilities for training. Parallel to this project, UNESCO (Noguchi and Lact) and SPACH (the Ambassadors of Italy and Greece and Prof. Bruno) organized a joint mission to Heart in July 1999. Unfortunately, their visit to Kabul did not receive a favour of the United Nations Co-ordinator for the reason of security. Nevertheless, the needs of urgent consolidation works were identified for example for the Musalla Complex and the Jam Minaret. It was also agreed that traditional craftsmen working in the conservation workshop in the Herat Mosque will be assisted under the project and that the Herat University will collaborate in the implementation of the project. In addition, the Ambassador of Afghanistan in Islamabad is to present, to SAPCH, an inventory of the remaining objects in Kabul and other important sites, in order to facilitate the completion of an inventory by SPACH/ICOM with the strong support of UNESCO.

5. In addition, the International Congress on Cultural Heritage at Risk, UNESCO Paris, 23-24 September 1999 also addressed these issues. Two technical papers dealt with the Afghanistan's cultural heritage. The information on the Congress is in the UNESCO Website and the Newsletter No. 3 will be sent worldwide in October 1999. It is further foreseen that an international inter-agency co-ordination committee for cultural heritage at risk will meet in UNESCO in February-March 2000, in order to receive proposals for rescue and prevention through international collaboration.

6. PARIS IV Sorbonne University organized the International Conference "Close Gazes on Cultural Heritage at the End of the 20th Century", Paris, 7-9 October 1999. The Conference covered many important issues concerning the cultural and natural heritage, tangible and intangible, politics, role players, conflict and risks, etc. Afghanistan was mentioned in the presentations and discussions.

7. In 1998, SPACH published "SPACH Library Series No. 1 – Status of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage" by Nancy Hatch Dupree, Peshawar, Pakistan (in English, Dari and Pashto, total 105 pages). This publication dealt with institutions, resources, communities, law enforcement and priorities.

8. UNESCO has been constantly receiving appeals for solidarity and information concerning efforts being made by many organizations and experts for Afghanistan's cultural heritage. The information shall be disseminated, especially on the occasion of the next co-ordination committee (February-March 2000). The present Symposium may be an opportunity to advise UNESCO on ways to strengthen international collaboration in this field.

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Hideo Noguchi, bone in Tottori, Japan on 11 April 1940

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(1) The 1998 Stockholm Action Plan on Cultural Policies for Development, UNESCO Paris
(2) Proposed Draft Resolution and the Operational Framework, draft during the International Congress on Cultural Heritage at Risk, UNESCO, Paris, 23-24 September 1999
(3) Risk Preparedness: A Management Manual for World Cultural Heritage, edited by Herb Stovel, ICCROM, UNESCO, ICOMOS, WHC, Rome, 1998 (ISBN 92-9077-152-6)
1997 Kobe/Tokyo International Symposium Risk Preparedness for Cultural Properties - Development of Guidelines for Emergency Response, edited by Saito Hidetoshi, Tokyo, 1999 (ISBN4-8055-0370-X)
Cultural Heritage at Risk, Newsletter No 1, UNESCO, Paris, April 1999,
Cultural Heritage at Risk, Newsletter No 2, UNESCO, Paris, June 1999
(4) The Universal Declaration of Human Rights - Adopted and Proclaimed by the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 217 A (III) of 10 December 1948
(5) The UNESCO Conventions and Recommendations concerning the protection of the cultural heritage (ISBN 92-3-102101-X)

Conventions :
- Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict (the Hague Convention), with Regulations for the Execution of the Convention, as well as the Protocol to the Convention and the Conference Resolutions, 14 May 1954, and the Second Protocol, March 1999
- Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 14 November 1970
- Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 16 November 1972, and the Operational Guidelines

Recommendations :
- Recommendation on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations, 5 December 1956
- Recommendation concerning the most Effective Means of Rendering Museums Accessible to Everyone, 14 December 1960
- Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding of the Beauty and Character of Landscapes and Sites, 11 December 1962
- Recommendation on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Export, Import and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 19 November 1964
- Recommendation concerning the Preservation of Cultural Property Endangered by Public or Private Works, 19 November 1968
- Recommendation concerning the Protection, at National Level, of the Cultural and Natural Heritage, 16 November 1972
- Recommendation concerning the International Exchange of Cultural Property, 26 November 1976
- Recommendation concerning the Safeguarding and Contemporary Role of Historic Areas, 26 November 1976
- Recommendation for the Protection of Movable Cultural Property, 28 November 1978
- Recommendation for the Safeguarding and Preservation of Moving Images, 27 October 1980

## Acronyms :

SPACH – Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage
ASEAN - Association of South-Eastern Asian Nations
EC - European Council
IATF - Inter-Agency Task Force (for improving risk-preparedness for cultural heritage)
ICBS - International Committee of the Blue Shield
ICA - International Council on Archives
ICOM - International Council of Museums
ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites
ICRC - International Committee of the Red Cross
IFLA - International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
ICCROM - International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property
IDNDR - International Decade for Natural Disaster Reduction
IUCN - World Conservation Union
SAARC - South Asian Association for Regional Co-operation
UN - The United Nations
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNDP - United Nations Development Programme
WB - World Bank
WMO - World Meteorological Organization
IAEG - International Association of Engineering Geology and Environment
IGCP - International Geological Correlation Programme
IUGS - International Union of Geological Sciences

# THE DEMISE OF ANCIENT TREASURES OF AFGHANISTAN

By Mehria Rafiq Mustamandy

Afghanistan has been the subject of conflict for the past twenty years. In addition to human sacrifices of incalculable dimensions, the plight of historical artifacts and monuments of this ancient land besieged by warfare, destruction, and corruption is one of the most tragic stories of modern time. The wholesale looting of historical treasures of Afghanistan is a matter of international concern. For the benefit of those unfamiliar with the Afghan situation I submit the following observations.

In Afghanistan, like countless other developing countries, clandestine archaeological excavation began when travelers like W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck opened a number of stupas in Darounta and Hadda in the Nangargar Province as early as 1824. The illicit excavations and trafficking of artifacts continued by other adventurers until 1834 when the travels of foreign nationals came to a halt due to domestic instabilities. It was in 1879 when British envoy, led by Louis Cavagnarie, during his assignment to sign the Gandomak accord resumed excavations in Afghanistan. All along the ruling authorities remained unattached to the atrocities committed to their ancient treasures in the name of adventure.

The unscrupulous excavations of these early treasure hunters in search of holy relics have lead to the permanent damage of a number of historical monuments, especially in the vicinity of eastern and southern parts of Afghanistan. Lacking knowledge of the history of the area and following unprofessional methods of documentation of objects, often taken in a form of personal diary rather than an excavation journal, have made the creditability of the written documents based on description of early travelers questionable. Nevertheless the written documents of early adventurers and their discoveries constitute our basis of knowledge about the ancient history of Afghanistan and the establishment of initial contact of the westerners to this archaeologically rich land.

In the early twenties, the French were the first to realize that great archaeological treasures lay hidden in Afghanistan. Starting with a series of legal and scientific excavations in 1922, they established their permanent center under the heading of Delegation Archeologique Francaire en Afghanistan "DAFA", in Kabul, which contributed to the richness of their knowledge and also their museums. The standing protocol of the agreements signed between Afghanistan and foreign archaeological missions at the time allowed the artifacts to be equally divided between the two countries. The French, who held the monopolistic archaeological expeditions of Afghanistan for several years, followed by the Italians, especially benefited from this provision. Afghanistan lacked trained technical personnel who could distinguish between aesthetically appealing objects and a historically valuable relict. Realistically, the French

played a crucial part in the early stages of the development of the Kabul Museum collections and archaeological expeditions of Afghanistan throughout most of this century. The discovery of masterpieces of the Ivories of Begram followed by excavations of Ai-Khanum could be attributed to the exemplary scholarship of the French archaeologists. DAFA library in Kabul equipped with one of the most valuable collections of historical resources on Afghanistan and on the region often served as a training center for aspiring archaeologists.

After the Second World War, the French hold on Afghanistan loosened. British, Japanese, Italian, American, and Soviet expeditions around the country not only discovered traces of various civilizations which flourished in this land, but also found the link between Tigris-Euphrates rivers and the Indus Valley.

The economic reform of the late 1950's, which took Afghanistan out of isolation, also brought certain changes in archaeological activities. A handful of young Afghan students were trained as archaeologists, museum curators, and technical staff in a number of European countries. But it wasn't until 1966 after the creation of Afghan Institute of Archaeology and Preservation of the Historical Monuments that a burst of archaeological activities took place in Afghanistan. One of the first initiatives of the newly established department was to make amendments in terms of the conditions of the agreements between Afghanistan and various foreign archaeological missions. The new provisions banned the division of the artifacts between the signatories. It also restricted the objects found by accident during excavations as the property of the Afghan government.

The excavations of the first joint Afghan mission in Tapa-I-Shotor in Hadda, Nangarhar province, which started in the winter of 1966 and continued for 13 consecutive seasons, gave a new dimension to the flourishing of Greco-Buddhic art and the influence of Hadda as a school of art. Starting with discovery of Aquatic Niche in 1967 and subsequent establishment of in-situ museum, once again Hadda became the focus of the attention of world scholars.

From mid 60s' to the later part of the 70s' a surge of restoration and excavation activities took place throughout the country. At a given time three American teams were engaged in excavation and field work in addition to Japanese, English, Italian, French, Russian, Indian, German and Afghan missions. UNESCO designated Kabul as an International Center for Kushan Studies. Scholars and researchers evaluated the pages of the ancient history of Afghanistan during regional and international gatherings.

However, the general public in Afghanistan remained ill informed about the mark of their forefathers through the pages of history. Evidently, history books even at the university level were illustrated with legendary anecdotes rather than factual analysis of the events and their consequences. Museums were treated as a medium of the elite. Thus their protection as a public domain was hardly encouraged through the school system or otherwise.

The turn of the events leading to the leftist Coup of 1978 and the subsequent invasion by the forces of the former Soviet Union is astonishing. Concurrently, the political instability of the last twenty years influenced the direction of the history of Afghanistan as well as the fate of its cultural heritage which bring us to the subject of our discussion in this gathering today.

The present situation of war and lawlessness poses the greatest danger for the Afghan cultural heritage. To name a few, the Kabul Museum took the biggest loss by relocating to a private building in 1979 followed by its looting and destruction in 1993. Seventy five percent of its unique collection was lost forever. The Museum of Hadda was bombed and destroyed in 1985. Throughout the country rival commanders have been dividing up hundreds of historical sites to be despoiled. Some even use bulldozers to raze ancient tombs while others encircle their digs with Russian tanks or use landmines to keep away intruders. Around Sheberghan at least two more graves of Tillya-Tepe with countless golden items have been raped and looted. Furthermore, the fate of the Golden Hoard excavated in 1978-79 by joint Afghan -Soviet Mission is still a mystery. At the foot of Khawak–Pass a hoard of Alexander the Great has been discovered by intruders. In the absence of a responsible government authority local tribal leaders have taken control of Mirzakah site for their personal gain. Treasurer hunters have removed the legs of one of the smaller Buddha statues in Kakrak Valley. The head of the giant Buddha of Bamiyan was blown-up by explosives. Intruders even removed the 1,700 year old paintings in the niches. The conditions of the rest of the historical monuments around Afghanistan are equally disastrous.

The current wave of destruction forced the very soul of the Afghan cultural property to be offered as a cheap commodity in the backroom of dingy shops in Peshawar for ultimate sale in the markets of major industrial countries. Local smugglers, mindless of their glorious past, together with international art dealers, have been cashing in on the misery of the Afghan people. The impact of this huge loss can not be downplayed for the benefit of Afghanistan and for the world community.

International organizations such as the UNESCO and UNIDROIT by no means can stop the illegal flow of the traffic of cultural property across the globe. To avoid further devastation private advocacy groups such as this symposium must join hands in a unilateral effort in search of avenues for repatriation of cultural property of Afghanistan.

Already a number of organizations are engaged in repatriation efforts of the cultural property of Afghanistan. The International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan, ICSCHA, was the first joint effort to create a format in safeguarding ancient treasures from further looting by noted Afghan scholar Dr. Chaibai Mustamandy in 1993. With the institutional support from Pacific Asia Museum, the Committee, among others, has been engaged in raising awareness about the richness of the culture of Afghanistan and its current condition. The Committee is an independent, non-profit entity.

The Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage, SPACH, in Pakistan has proven to be instrumental in the collection of artifacts from the local market. The Swiss-based Afghanistan Archive in Leistal was asked by responsible authorities of both warring factions to provide a temporary safe heaven for Afghan cultural heritage in Switzerland. Construction work to alter an existing building to house Afghan artifacts started in May of this year with the financial assistance from the Swiss government and a number of other donors. But in order to secure the building and complete the work of Afghanistan Museum in Switzerland financial contribution is badly needed.

In view of the disastrous situation described so far, on behalf of the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan, I respectfully propose the following:

The formation of Afghan Art Advisory Council (AAAC) comprising of representatives of UNESCO, the office of the Taleban in New York City, the Afghan Mission to the United Nations representing the government of Professor Rabbani, Afghanistan Archive in Switzerland, Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage, SPACH, in Pakistan, International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistán, and two or three interested individuals from the Afghan community. The Council should operate under the auspices of Pacific Asia Museum in conjunction with activities of International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan.

The primary focus of the Council should be to initiate and encourage the publication of research material, especially those on the verge of disappearance, among the scholarly community. Members of the Council should work together to coordinate the efforts of various advocacy groups and to assist in carrying on the recommendations of this symposium and similar gatherings in the future. Additionally, the Council should seek advice from other institutions and individuals in generating monetary resources to finance repatriation initiatives as well as other technical assistance.

One often wonders why is the protection of Afghanistan's cultural heritage of greatest international importance? Professor Paul Bucherer-Dietschi Director of Afghanistan Archive in Switzerland eloquently made a three-point observation at UNESCO International Congress on Cultural Heritage at Risk on September 23rd, 1999 in Paris which I consider appropriate to quote in closing.

1ST The Indo-European culture split in Afghanistan. Roots of Indian and European traditions, cultural behavior, etc. which got lost in other parts of the world because of revolutions, industrialization, and colonialism, may still be found among the people in the Hindukusk.

2nd In the area of Afghanistan Greek/Hellenistic artists stamped the traditional pattern of the Buddhist iconography, which spread all over Asia. Buddhist art in Afghanistan forms the *missing link*-or better still the *vanishing link* between European and Asiatic arts.

3rd Because of its historical position at the crossroad of Asia, Afghanistan accumulated over the centuries an incredible density of archaeological sites. Because of its remoteness in modern times Afghanistan was able to protect its cultural heritage much longer than most other nations in the region.

Would it not be an irony indeed if the future generations of Afghanistan had to review their archaeological past in London, New York, Tokyo or Peshawar rather than their rightful place-in Afghanistan.

I thank you for your perseverance.

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Switzerland

# Museum-in-exile for Aghanistan's works of art

*A project has been set up in the Swiss village of Bubendorf to care for the Afghan cultural heritage dispersed by the Civil War*

An Afghanistan "museum-in-exile" is being set up in Switzerland to care for archaeological and historical treasures until the end of the civil war. The project has won support from both sides in the conflict, and the museum is being established with the support of the Swiss government in the village of Bubendorf, seventeen kilometres south-east of Basel. Nearly half of the SFr2 million (£833,000; $1.3 million) costs have been raised, with a quarter coming from the Basel regional government and half from the Swiss government. A contribution has also been made by Commander Ahmad Shah Massud, military leader of the Northern Alliance. The museum is due to open next March.

Afghanistan's cultural heritage has suffered terrible losses since the Soviet occupation in 1979, and particularly since the intensification of the civil war following the Mujahideen take-over of Kabul in 1992. The Kabul Museum has been repeatedly looted and archaeological sites have been stripped (The Art Newspaper, No.65, December 1996, pp.1-3 and No.66, January 1997, p.6). Most of the artifacts have been smuggled out of the country, usually through Pakistan, and then dispersed on the international market.

Valiant efforts to prevent looting have failed and there is a growing feeling that Afghanistan's cultural objects can best be preserved abroad, providing that there are clear arrangements to return items once the conflict is over. Although this represents a drastic decision, it is one which has been reached by both sides in the civil conflict, making it an unusual, if not unprecedented, situation. The Afghanistan Museum in Switzerland is being coordinated by Paul Bucherer-Dietschi, director of the Fondation Bibliotheca Afghanica, a library and research institute. He stresses that the idea came not from him nor from the Swiss government, but from those inside Afghanistan. Mr Bucherer-Dietschi says that the museum-in-exile now has the full backing of both the Taliban in the south, who control the capital Kabul, and the Northern Alliance, which represents the internationally-recognised government. Last November Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani, Afghanistan's president and head of the Northern Alliance, came to discuss the project. A top advisor of Mullah Omar, religious and political leader of the Taliban, visited later. In July senior representatives from both sides in the civil war came to Bubendorf and again pledged support.

UNESCO is backing the venture, which it regards as an important pilot project to safeguard cultural property in times of conflict. A presentation on the scheme was given to UNESCO's International Congress on Cultural Heritage at Risk in Paris in September. The museum-in-exile is also supported by the Pasadena-based International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan and the Peshawar-based Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage. The Bubendorf museum is being set up in converted premises, which are being fitted with the latest security and environmental controls. Initially seven rooms will be opened to the public, with a further seven to be completed in 2001. A secure underground storeroom will also be built for precious objects which are not on display. "We are not trying to create a grand museum building, but merely a temporary home where the objects will be safe and accessible," explained Mr Bucherer-Dietschi.

The museum has already received some archaeological objects as samples, such as Airekhanum bronzes provided by sources in the Northern Alliance. But most of the collection will only arrive once the museum building provides the necessary security. Mr Bucherer-Dietschi claims that his foundation has been promised 3,000 items, which include important Gandharan and Bactrian artifacts. These will come from both the northern and southern areas of Afghanistan (where some collections are currently buried for safekeeping), Pakistan and Europe. A dozen Afghan individuals have promised artifacts, and these represent a mixture of private collectors and government officials.

Mr Bucherer-Dietschi stresses that looting should not be rewarded, but he says that very small "storage fees" might be payable to individuals inside Afghanistan who had preserved looted items (possibly $10 for returning a Gandharan relief, which would fetch a considerable sum on the international market). Another possibility under discussion is that artifacts confiscated by the Afghan border authorities might be transferred to the museum-in-exile.

The Swiss museum will only house the collection until peace and stability make it possible to return it to Afghanistan, a decision which will require the joint agreement of the Afghan and Swiss governments. Most items will be returned to the Kabul Museum, but some will go to local museums (decisions on this will be made by the Afghan government of the time).

**Martin Bailey**

For further information on the Afghanistan Museum in Switzerland, tel/fax +41 (0)61 921 9838.





**The smaller Buddha at Bamiyan photographed July 1998 (left), and again in November that year (right), showing the head blown off by the Taliban, and the body shelled by a tank-cannon. The fresco painting above the head has been removed and probably taken to Peshawar in Pakistan**

امام گردیده بودند ، داده وگفتندهرکی رادرآنجا دیدید سربزنید وبرای من بیاورید ۰

موظفین درمحل مذکوررفته همه جاراپالیدند ۰ باوجودی که امام درآن جا بود ، ماموران متوجه وی نشدند ، وامام بطور معجزه آسا ازدست آنان نجات یافت ۰ معتضدفکرکرد که تعدادنفر کم بوده ، درمرحلهٔ دیگرتعداد بیشتر اشخاص رافرستاد ۰ وقتی آنها نزدیک منزل امام شدند ، ازسرداب تلاوت قرآن بگوش شان رسید ۰ خانه رادرمحاصره کشیدندتاکسی داخل و خارج نشود ۰ فرماندهٔ آنان بر در دروازه ایستاده بود ۰ امام ازدرسرداب بیرون آمده از مقابل شان گذشت ۰ وقتی ازانظار دورشد ، فرمانده به سربازان خود امر کردکه پایین بروید وتفتیش کنید ۰ آنهاگفتندآیا او نبود که ازبرابرتو گذشت ؟ جواب داد : من کسی راندیدم ۰ فرمانده گفت پس چرا او را رهاکردید ؟ گفتند ماپنداشتیم تو اورا دیده ای ۰

بدین ترتیب امام زیک لحظهٔ مقرون به وقت ووقت شناسی وتدبیر شایسته وعنایت حق تعالی استفاده کرده وآن لحظه ای راکه لحظهٔ غفلت فرمانده سربازان ازتوجه بود ، استفاده کرده فرارنمود وازانظارپنهان شد ۰

غیابت صغرای آن امام ٦٩ سال (ازسال ٢٦٠ تا٣٢٩هجری) بطول انجامید ۰ درطول این مدت غیابت صغرا ، عثمان بن سعید ، محمدبن عثمان ، حسین بن روح و علی بن محمدسهری بحیث نائبان امام پیغام و هدایات او رابه مردم می رساندند ۰ ازسال ٣٢٩ هجری به بعدغیابت کبری شروع می شودتاخدای تبارک وتعالی به اواجازهٔ ظهوردهد ، تازمین را پرازعدل ودادکند ، زان پس که ازظلم وجور مملوشده باشد ۰/

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## ازتلاش برای صلح عادلانه بایدپشتیبانی شود

متن ذیل سرمقالهٔ هفته نامهٔ پیام مجاهد ـ ارگان نشراتی مجاهدین افغانستان ، که ازسوی کمیتهٔ فرهنگی درپروان انتشارمی یابد ، است که درتازه ترین شمارهٔ مورخ ٢٥ نومبرتحت عنوان فوق به نشررسیده است :

بیش ازهفتادتن ازشخصیت های افغانی بدعوت محمدظاهر ، شاه سابق افغانستان ، درروم گردآمده اند تادرموردتدویرلویه جرگهٔ اضطراری تصمیم بگیرند ۰ هدف ازتدویراین لویه جرگه خاتمه بخشیدن به جنگ در افغانستان خوانده شده است ۰

شاه سابق که اززمان برکنارشدنش درسال ١٣٥٢ درروم زندگی می کند ، برای حل بحران افغانستان ، تشکیل لویه جرگه راپیشنهادنموده است ۰

ادامهٔ جنگ درافغانستان ، وناکامی تلاش های ملل متحددرآوردن صلح وثبات درکشورباعث آن شده تاامیدواری درداخل وخارج افغانستان به حل قضیه ازطریق تدویرلویه جرگه افزایش یابد ۰

شخصیت هایی که دراجلاس روم شرکت کرده اند ، بحیث افراددعوت شده اند ، ولی طبیعی است که این افرادتمایلاتی به این طرف ویاآن طرف درگیردارند ۰

اجلاس روم باعث ان شده تاتوجه جامعه بین المللی به حل قضیهٔ افغانستان معطوف شود وملل متحدکه تلاش هایش درراه حل بحران افغانستان بی نتیجه مانده است ، باارسال نماینده ای بحیث ناظر ، می خواهدازریابی کندکه آیااین تلاشهاچانسی برای موفقیت دارد ۰

همچنین یکجاشدن شخصیت های خبیرافغانی درروم باعث میشودکه درموردواقعیت هادرافغانستان درک بهتری حاصل شود ، زیرادرگذشته درجهت تعویض ان ۰

اشتراک کنندگان دراجلاس روم وظیفهٔ مشکل تشویق دوطرف درگیر رابه پشتیبانی ازتدویرلویه جرگه درپیش دارند ۰ واضح است که طالبان با هرتلاش بخاطرتدویر هراجلاسی ازنمایندگان مردم افغانستان که درآن زعامت آیندهٔ کشوروشکل حکومت آینده تعیین شود ، مخالف اند ، زیرا بحث روی این موضوع را غیرضروری وسبب ضیاع وقت می دانند ۰ در صورت ادامهٔ مخالفت طالبان به عملیهٔ صلح ازطریق تدویرلویه جرگه ، اجلاس روم چه سیاستی رادرپیش خواهدگرفت ؟

دولت اسلامی افغانستان دراصل ازهرحرکت بخاطردستیابی به صلح عادلانه که درنهایت منجربه مشارکت ملی درتعیین سرنوشت آیندهٔ کشور شده وضامن وحدت ملی باشد ، پشتیبانی می کند ۰ برای دولت اسلامی افغانستان چگونگی انتخاب نمایندگان مردم درلویه جرگه ازاهمیت اساسی برخورداراست ، ودرانتخاب نمایندگان بایدروحیهٔ دموکراسی جداً مراعات شود ۰

اجلاس اصلی لویه جرگه بایددرافغانستان صورت بگیرد ، تا نمایندگان مردم فارغ ازتاثیرات خارجی درفضای آزاد تصامیم حیاتی در بارهٔ کشورشان را بگیرند ۰ /

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خالده فلوران ولی کالیفورنیا

## ازشکوه و جلال تا تاراج و غارت

سمپوزیم مروری به تاریخ باستانشناسی افغانستان توسط کمیتهٔ بین المللي برای حفظ ونگهداری افتخارات ومیراث فرهنگی افغانستان به روز های ١٥ و ١٦ اکتوبردرموزیم ( Pacific Asia ) درپاسادینای کالیفورنیا دایرشد ۰

تاریخ فرهنگی افغانستان یکی ازقدیمی ترین وغنی ترین تاریخ دنیا است ۰ ولی متاسفانه این مدنیت تاریخی غنی به اثرمداخلات خارجی و اشغالگری های موجود نزدیک به نابودی وازتباهی کامل است ۰ خصوصاً دردودههٔ اخیر دراثرتاراج ، دزدی وقاچاق ، ونیز بمباران وراکتباران ، آبدات وآثارتاریخی ماتقریباً بکلی ازبین رفته ، وگنجینه های خردوبزرگ آن درسراسردنیا به بهای ناچیز به فروش می رسد ۰

برای جلوگیری ازادامهٔ این تباهی های فرهنگی کمیتهٔ بین المللی حفظ ونگهداری میراث فرهنگی افغانستان توسط دانشمندومحقق افغانستان ، مرحوم داکترشاهی بای مستمندی ، درنتیجهٔ کنفرانس گندهاران درماه اکتوبر ١٩٩٢ درکمبرج انگلستان بنیانگذاری شد ۰

پس ازمرگ نابهنگام مرحوم داکترمستمندی ، رهنمایی وریاست آنرا خانم شان محترمه مهریه رفیق مستمندی بعهده گرفته وموزیم پاسفیک آسیا همکاری خودرابااین کمیته درخزان ١٩٩٣ آغازنمود ۰ این کمیته غیر انتفاعی وغیرسیاسی وغیرحکومتی بوده وازتمام مردم افغانستان میخواهد تابااین کمیتهٔ فرهنگی همکاری واشتراک مساعی بنمایندتاباقیماندهٔ آبدات تاریخی حفاظت شود وآثارگرانبهای بغارت رفته ، پس به صاحبان اصلی

نمایند ۰

مجلس تشکرات عمیق خودرا ازمردم وحکومت ایتالیا که زمینه را برای این گردهمایی افغانی برابر نموده اند ، ابراز می نماید ۰

مجلس با دعابرای استقراریک نظام مبتنی براساسات دین مبین اسلام و ارزش های ملی افغانی وآرزوی اعادهٔ صلح وتحکیم وحدت ملی ، و رفاه و آبادی افغانستان با رعایت حقوق بشر ، شام پنجشنبه ٢٥ نومبر ١٩٩٩ میلادی خاتمه یافت ۰ /

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آن یعنی مردم افغانستان اعاده گردد ۰

درآغازسمپوزیم جاری خانم مهریه رفیق مستمندی رئیس کمیته بین المللی حفظ ونگهداری میراث فرهنگی افغانستان وآقای دیوید کمنسکی رئیس موزیم پاسفیک ایشیا ، به حاضرین خیرمقدم گفتند ۰ وسپس دانشمندان ومحققین آتی بالای موضوعات مختلف سخنرانی نمودند :

١ـ پروفیسرDavid Bivar ازاکادمی برتش لندن دربخش مطالعات آسیای جنوبی راجع به خصوصیات مطالعات سکه شناسی درافغانستان قدیمی ومدرن ۰

٢ـ داکترDavid Mac Dowell ازاکادمی برتش لندن دربخش مطالعات آسیای جنوبی در موردبوجودآمدن امپراتوری کوشانی ها ، اهمیت راه ابریشم وسکه شناسی آنوقت سخنرانی داشت ۰

٣ـ داکترزمریالی طرزی سابق رئیس انستیوت باستان شناسی افغانستان وپروفیسرباستان شناسی درپوهنتون Strsbourg فرانسه راجع به آئین بودایی درافغانستان صحبتی داشتند ۰

٤ـ داکترWilliam Trousdale ازدیپارتمنت انتروپولوژی امریکا سمیت سونین انستیتوتشنز ، دربارهٔ سلالهٔ اسلامی سیستان افغانستان The Islamic Dynamsties of Sistan سخنرانی نمود ۰

٥ـ داکترLinda Komaroff متصدی آرت اسلامی موزیم لاس انجلس درموردشهکاری های ادبی ومعماری تیموریان هرات صحبت کرد ۰

٦ـ داکترDonald Stadtner راجع به هنرهیکل تراشی گفتاری داشت ۰

سخنرانان روز دوم سمپوزیم عبارت بودنداز : داکترزمان ستانیزی در باره تجزیه وتحلیل سیاسی واجتماعی زبان ونژادسخن راند ۰ محترمه مهریه رفیق مستمندی درخصوص ازبین رفتن افتخاران وخزانه های قدیمی وتاریخی افغانستان صحبت نمود ۰ Dr. Jonathan L.Lee محقق ومولف انگلیس در موضوع میراث فرهنگی افغانستان بعدازدودهه جنگ سخن راند ۰ وپروفیسرالفشاه جدران سابق استادباستانشناسی پوهنتون کابل بالای تخلفات وحفاری های غیرقانونی باستانشناسی و پرنسیب های تحقیق علمی صحبت نمود ۰ وی ازپشاورآمده است ۰

دراخیرمباحثهٔ سوال وجواب راجع به وضع فعلی آبدات وآثارتاریخی افغانستان صورت گرفت که دران دانشمندان آتی اشتراک داشتند :

داکترروان فرهادی ـ اقای هیدئو نگوچی ازیونسکو ، اقای دیویدبیور ، آقای ریچاردهیگلند ازدیپارتمنت جنوب آسیای وزارت خارجه امریکا ، اقای زمریالی طرزی ، آقای الف شاه جدران ، داکترجاناتن وداکترویلیام ۰

**اشتراک امید، هفته نامهٔ مردم افغانستان برای دوستان بهترین تحفه برایشان است .**

Omaid Weekly. Nov. 29th, 1999

The role of ingot currency is important not only for the light it throws on the economic system of the Babylonian and Assyrian worlds, but also for the background it provides to the appearance of "Bent bar coinage", and "Punch-marked coinage" in the Indian sub-continent [SLIDE [10]:Mir Zakah bent bars]. "Bent bar" coins are of two main varieties; the wide variety, found in the Chaman Huzuri hoard, appear to be the earlier, and the narrow variety, occurring with the straight bar coins, in the Mir Zakah find, seem to be later. It appears that the use of bulk silver as currency spread from the Middle East and Iran into Gandhara already before the time of Darius the Great. Further eastwards into India, a number of different currencies of silver with rudimentary, "single-type stamps", make their appearance in different areas. In the regions of Varanasi and Patna, where the great Indian kingdom of Magadha was beginning to take shape, small, roughly-squared silver coins weighing very approximately 3.00 gm, and bearing four, or later five, punch-marks, provide a copious coinage.The latest of these [SLIDE [11]: Maurya punch-marked] seem to represent the issues of the powerful Maurya Empire, amongst which we can possibly identify the issues of Aśoka.

It is apparently true that coins of circular form, die-struck according to the modern conception of coinage, though seen in the form of imported Greek silver, were never manufactured in the highlands of Iran or in Afghanistan before the coming of Alexander. Indeed, they may not have been issued there even then, for the travelling city that was Alexander's army on the move seems to have brought with it its own currency, coined silver from the mines of Macedonia, Achaemenid gold and silver coinage from Lydia, or issues of the city-states of

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# From glory to plunder

*By* Flouran Wali

The Pacific Asia Museum in conjunction with the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan (ICSCHA) presented "A Prospective Review of the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan From Glory to Plunder," October 15 and 16, 1999, in Pasadena, California. The symposium was part of the ongoing efforts of both organizations to raise awareness about the richness of the culture of Afghanistan, as well as the vulnerability of our nation's cultural treasures. The two day symposium reviewed the classical history of Afghanistan with special emphasis on archaeology and the current destruction of cultural artifacts and historical sites as a result of the war in Afghanistan.

The cultural history of Afghanistan is among the richest and most ancient on earth. But due to foreign invasion and continued warfare, this rich civilization is on the verge of extinction. The looting, theft and smuggling of historical treasures as well as the bombing and raiding of monuments during the last two decades have resulted in thousands of priceless artifacts being illegally distributed for sale around the globe, thus despoiling the heritage of the Afghans and depriving the scholarly community of scientific research.

The symposium featured internationally recognized scholars who have conducted extensive research or excavation in Afghanistan throughout the latter part of this century.

Professor David Bivar, from the Society for South Asian Studies of the British Academy, presented "The Significance of Numismatic Studies for Ancient and Modern Afghanistan," — the study of historical coinage, which has a unique importance for Afghanistan. Moreover, because the numismatics of this region reflect epoch-making world wide movements, they are no less important for historians all over the world. The record in Afghanistan attests the ingot-currency of Cyrus the Great, the passing of Alexander, and the Graeco-Bactrian Kingdoms from about 190-120 BC.

Dr. Linda Komaroff, Curator of Islamic Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, presented "Power and poetry: Some Thoughts on the Art and Architecture of the Timurid Period (1370 -1507)." Dr. Komaroff's paper considered selected examples of Timurid visual culture within a contemporary political and societal context.

Dr. David McDowall, from the British Academy's Society of South Asian Studies, presented "The Rise of Kushan Empire — Masters of the Silk Road: The important numismatic evidence from Afghanistan." Afghanistan lies at the crossroads of Asia. In the ancient world it was the center of the Kushan empire which came to control the silk road — the major trade route from China and Central Asia in the east to Parthia and the Roman Empire in the west, and between Central Asia in the north and India to the south.

Dr. William Trousdale, Curator Emeritus at the Department of Anthropology of the Smithsonian Institution, presented "The Islamic Dynasties of Sistan, Afghanistan" — several major Central Asian medieval Islamic dynasties were founded within the borders of Afghanistan. The topic of "The Buddhist Past of Afghanistan" was presented by Dr. Zemaryalai Tarzi, former Director General of the Afghan Institute of Archeology. And Dr. Donald Stadtner presented "Shahi Sculpture Revisited."

Dr. Jonathan Lee, a British scholar and author, shed light on the impact of the war and the break-up of civil society on a number of well-known archaeological sites and monuments in Afghanistan; not just in the capital city Kabul, but also in the northern, central, and western provinces. Dr. Lee concluded that the material culture of Afghanistan has suffered serious and widespread degradation over the last two decades as a result of direct war damage, pillage, neglect, and, in some cases, incautious but well-meaning attempts at preservation and restoration. He stated that the "the future is bleak."

The current wave of destruction forced the very soul of Afghan cultural property to be sold in Pakistan to the international art market. Measures should be taken to safeguard the historical heritage of Afghanistan from vanishing. Therefore, the idea of a museum for Afghanistan in Switzerland was born by Afghans. The main objective of the Museum is to collect what remains of Afghanistan's cultural heritage in a safe place, to preserve and show them in a secure surrounding until the situation in Afghanistan has stabilized. At that time, the holding of the artifacts in the Afghanistan Museum will be transferred from their temporary home back to Afghanistan, under the umbrella of the National UNESCO Commissions of the two countries. Afghans in Switzerland should be commended in their joint efforts to construct this museum.

The ICSCHA Committee, among others, is committed to raising awareness about the richness of the culture of Afghanistan, as well as the vulnerability of the nation's ancient artifacts. The Committee welcomes members and supporters from all nations seeking to protect and preserve ancient Afghan treasures and to return stolen arts and archeological artifacts to their rightful owners — the people of Afghanistan.

Ms. Mehria Rafiq Mustamandy and Mr. David Kamansky are to be highly commended for bringing together such a distinguished gathering of scholars on Afghan archaeology and history. Over fifty people attended the symposium, including four young Afghans.

By attending the symposium, I was enlightened by the richness of my culture beyond any history books, as well as the vulnerability of our treasures. However, the question still remains, what shall we leave behind to our children, if all our treasures, our traditions, and the knowledge about our past is destroyed, looted, and sold to foreign countries? ■

Afghanistan Mirror, Oct. 1999

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# آخرین اخبار

معضلهٔ بن لادن: دولت امریکا که قبلاً اخراج بن لادن را از افغانستان تقاضا کرده بود، و هم وعده کرده بود که در آنصورت حکومت طالبان را برسمیت میشناسد، موقف خود را تغییر داده، اکنون تقاضادارد طالبان بن لادن را برای محاکمه بامریکا بسپارند؛ آنهم بدون قید وشرط. دربن باره حکومت عربستان سعودی تقاضای اخطار مانندی صادر و بطالبان سفارش کرد تا بن لادن را بامریکا بسپارند، درحالیکه بن لادن تبعهٔ سعودی است و عربستان سعودی خودش آنرا تسلیم بگیرد، اما میخواهد این ننگ رابالای ملت افغان تحمیل کند تا خودش ازبدنام و عکس العمل های ناسیونالیزم عربی مصئون بماند. کوفی انان سرمنشي ملل متحد نیز اخطاریه ای صادر و از صرب الاجل ۱۴ نوامبر یادآورشده اظهار داشت که اگر تا آن تاریخ بن لادن تسلیم داده نشود تعزیرات اقتصادی حدي با رعایت حدي کشور های عضو نافذ میگردد.

دربرابر این فشار ها و تهدیدات ملا محمد عمرمجاهد رهبر طالبان اظهار داشت که طالبان ننگ تسلیمي بن لادن رابامریکا هرگز قبول نمیکنند ولي در بارهٔ اخراج بن لادن بکشوری که مورد رضائیت خود او باشد حاضر بمذاکره استند. او گفت «ما تعزیرات اقتصادي را بمقابسه بانک اسلامي وافغاني مرجح میدانیم...» ملا عمر اضافه کرد که امریکا ازموقف و وعده های خود عدول نموده و میخواهد شرایط خود را تحمیل کند؛ لهذا ما بعد ازین با امریکا تماس و مذاکره نمیکنیم.

بن لادن خودش در یک مصاحبه اظهار داشت که بخاطر جلوگیري از فشار وقیودات بالای ملت افغان، برضائیت خود میخواهد بیک کشور ثالث برود؛ بشرطیکه طالبان موضع اقامت بعدي او را افشاء نسازند.

سلسلهٔ تحولات مثبتی که بعد از تقرر شاغلي ملا عبدالوکیل متوکل بحیث وزیر خارجهٔ حکومت سرپرست صورت گرفته، انتخاب جنرال رحمت الله سابي بحیث نمایندهٔ تحریک اسلامي طالبان در اروپا از کابل اعلام گردید. این تقرر یک تحول مثبت دیگر است؛ زیرا جنرال سابي طالب نیست؛ بلکه یک شخصیت ملیگرا و مبارز افغان میباشد. بحیر تحریک اسلامي طالبان است تا آغوش خود را بیشتر بروی ملیگرایان افغان و دانشمندان افغان باز کند؛ زیرا در جناح مخالف طالبان تجربه طلبان و سیمي های طرفدار تجزیهٔ افغانستان قرار دارند؛ درحالیکه ملیگرایان افغان طرفدار تمامیت ارضي، وحدت ملي و تشکیل یک حکومت قوي مرکزي در افغانستان میباشند.

افتتاح لویه جرگهٔ پادشاه سابق در روم که آنرا «مجلس کبیر ملي» خوانده اند ازتاریخ ۲۲ تا ۲۵ نوامبر ۱۹۹۹ در روم آغاز میگردد. اسامي اشتراک کنندگان تا حال افشاء نشده، اما عمدتاً نمایندگان گروه های مخالف طالبان دعوت شده اند و جناب پادشاه سابق این مجلس را ظاهراً برای ایجاد صلح در افغانستان اما واقعاً برای خشنود ساختن یکعده افغانها تا از تکت مفت و مهمان نوازي و تسهیلات دولت ایتالیا استفاده کنند؛ دایر ساخته، ازین نمایشات که بحمایت جدي امریکا و ائتلاف رسمي گروه رباني - مسعود - دوستم براه افتیده؛ باصطلاح برادران هزاره «جبری نور نموشه!» گروه طرفداران پادشاه آوازه انداخته اند که جنرال سابي بخاطري دربنوقت بحیث نمایندهٔ اروپائي طالبان مقرر شده تا در جرگهٔ روم شرکت نماید. چون جنرال سابي در کابل است وکدام اعلامیه از طرف وزارت خارجهٔ کابل در باره اشتراک یا عدم اشتراک بجرگهٔ روم صادر نشده؛ فعلا در زمینه اظهار نظر شده نمیتواند.

## از درخشش و جلال تا غارت وچپاول

### سمپوزیم بین المللي مرورارتاریخ و غنای باستاني افغانستان

موسسهٔ «حفظ آثارفرهنگي افغانستان» در کلفورنیا بهمکاري «موزیم پاسفیک ایشیا درپاسادینا» برای دو روز بتاریخ ۱۵ و ۱۶ اکتوبر ۱۹۹۹ یک سمپوزیم بین المللي دایر کرده بود که یکعده از دانشمندان انگلیسي، امریکائي وافغاني و نمایندگان موسسات بین المللي و باستانشناسي، بشمول نمایندهٔ وزارت خارجهٔ امریکا، در آن سهم گرفته بودند.

روز اول سمپوزیم بریاست آقای دکتور کمینسکي، سرپرست موزیم پاسفیک ایشیادایر گردید وباستانشناسان معروف انگلیس از پوهنتون شرقشناسي لندن و باستانشناسان امریکائي با نشاندادن سلاید ها ازآثار تاریخي افغانستان راجع بجلال و درخشش تاریخ افغانستان از هزارهٔ قبل المیلاد ببعد و سهم ارزندهٔ افغانستان در فرهنگ جهاني سخن گفتند. پوهاند داکتر محمد حسن کاکړ استاد تاریخ درپوهنتون کابل مقالهٔ مبسوطي راجع باوضاع سیاسي و اجتماعي افغانستان قرائت کرد.

روز دوم سمپوزیم بریاست میرمن مهریه رفیق مستمندي، رئیسهٔ موسسهٔ حفظ آثار فرهنگي افغانستان درکلفورنیا دایر گردید و او تاریخچهٔ فعالیتهای باستان شناسي وحفریات را در افغانستان بیان داشته راجع بغارت و چپاول آثار فرهنگي افغانستان و مکلفیت جامعهٔ بین المللي دربازیافت و حفظ آن سخن گفت. دانشمندان افغاني هریک داکتر الف شاه ځدران (که از پاکستان آمده بود) در بارهٔ آثار مبرزکه، داکتر توریالي طرزي استاد باستانشناسي درپوهنتون فرانسه راجع بفرهنگ دورهٔ بودائي درافغانستان، داکتر هاشمیان در بارهٔ سرنوشت زبانهای افغانستان وداکتر زمان ستانکزي راجع به نمونه های تحولات سیاسي - اجتماعي در افغانستان سخن گفتند و چهار ساعت اخیر روزدوم بمذاکرات دسته جمعي توسط

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# Pacific Asia Museum Symposium on Destruction and Looting of Afghan Culture Draws Scholars from Around the World

## Program Co-sponsored by the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan

The International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan (ICSCHA) and Pacific Asia Museum in Pasadena, California, USA, presented "A Prospective Review of the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan: From Glory to Plunder", a symposium held at Pacific Asia Museum on Friday, October 15, and Saturday, October 16, 1999. The symposium was part of the ongoing efforts of both organizations to raise awareness about the richness of the culture of Afghanistan, as well as the vulnerability of that nation's ancient treasures.

Afghanistan's location at the crossroads of Asia and the west during ancient times, makes it a unique culture which has blossomed under vastly differing influences. Unlike other nations in the region, Afghanistan was free of a colonial presence until the late 19th century, so its culture has been preserved in a continuum absent in neighboring countries.

Approximately 65 people travelled to Pasadena to take part in the two-day symposium, including Richard Hoagland of the US State Department and Dr. Alef Shah Zadran of the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage, which is headquartered in Pakistan. Presentations included one by Dr. Jonathan Lee, who recently returned from Afghanistan. Dr. Lee's presentation included graphic photos of the bombed remains of the Kabul Museum and other monuments and archaeological sites which have suffered heavy damage as a result of 20 years of civil war.

On Friday, the conference was moderated by David Kamansky, Executive Director of Pacific Asia Museum. Participants included Dr. Zemaryalai Tarzi, former Director General of the Afghan Institute of Archaeology; Dr. William Trousdale, Curator Emeritus of the Department of Anthropology at the Smithsonian; Dr. Mohammad Hassan Kakar, former Professor of History at Kabul University; Dr. Linda Komaroff, Curator of Islamic Art at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Dr. David Bivar of the Society for South Asian Studies of the British Academy; and US scholar and researcher Dr. Donald Stadtner.

On Saturday, ICSCHA Founding President Mehria Rafiq Mustamandy moderated the session, which focused on the current destruction of cultural objects and monuments as a result of the civil war in Afghanistan. Participants included Dr. Sayed Khalilullah Hashemyan, Editor-In-Chief of Afghanistan Mirror, USA; Dr. Alef Shah Zadran, former professor of Anthropology at Kabul University; Dr. Zaman S. Stanizai, English language instructor at UCLA; Mr. Richard Hoagland, Director of Public Diplomacy for South Asia for the US State Department; and British author and scholar Dr. Jonathan Lee.

A panel of experts evaluated the current situation and participants agreed that, once the political situation in Afghanistan stabilizes, cultural property should be returned to the people of Afghanistan. A resolution calling for the creation of an Afghan Art Advisory Council to bring together various agencies and political groups who have a stake in preserving Afghanistan's cultural heritage was drafted at the conclusion of the symposium.

# A Prospective Review of the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan
## From Glory to Plunder

Symposium Organized by

*The International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan and Pacific Asia Museum, Pasadena, California on October 15 –16, 1999*

## Resolution concerning the cultural and archaeological heritage of Afghanistan

We are deeply concerned that the irreplaceable historical and cultural heritage of Afghanistan is in dire straits. The destruction of Afghan monuments and the looting of historical artifacts is a matter of international concern. Afghan cultural treasures illegally excavated from archaeological sites and stolen from museums are being sold in Peshawar to be ultimately traded in international art markets. International organizations such as UNESCO and UNIDROIT cannot stop the illegal flow of the traffic of cultural property across the globe.

However, there are several organizations presently engaged in efforts for the eventual repatriation of these objects. The International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan, an independent, non-political, non-profit organization, was the first joint effort in 1993 to create a format for safeguarding ancient treasures from further looting.

We therefore propose the following:

1. That we raise awareness of the richness of the cultural heritage of Afghanistan, which provides historic links between European and Asian cultures and is an invaluable resource for global understanding.

2. That the present deplorable situation be brought to the attention of all international institutions responsible for the preservation of world culture.

3. That Afghanistan Museum, a temporary safe haven for Afghan relics is found in Switzerland. "The Swiss-based Afghanistan Archive in Leistal has been asked by responsible authorities of both warring factions in Afghanistan to provide this service", but research must be done on the legalities involved and financial support should be encouraged.

4. That an Afghan Art Advisory Council (AAAC) comprising of representatives from UNESCO, Afghanistan Archive in Switzerland, Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage (SPACH) in Pakistan, the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan (ICSCHA) in Pasadena, U.S.A, the responsible authorities in Afghanistan, and two or three informed individuals from the Afghan community should be formed. The Council should operate with the cooperation of Pacific Asia Museum in conjunction with the activities of the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan in order to coordinate repatriation efforts by means of modern technology such as e-mail and fax.

5. That this Council should seek advice from other institutions and individuals to generate monetary resources for financing the restoration of cultural monuments, to train technical personnel, to finance repatriation initiatives, to conserve cultural artifacts and manuscripts, and to catalogue and publish scholarly materials. A web page for future papers and the transmittal of information should be designed.

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the Levant. Later these materials may have been supplemented by ingot currencies such as those we have examined. Seleucid coins struck on the Attic weight-standard seem to have produced at Balkh around 310 B.C., but it was only with the rise of independent rulers in Bactria that coins of Greek format came to be regularly produced on Afghan soil. We cannot deal systematically here with the great range of the Graeco-Bactrian and Indo-Greek coinages. But it deserves saying that the Graeco-Bactrian coinage is regarded by many as presenting the finest examples of coin portraiture in the whole history of numismatics. They include the idealized portrait of Diodotus I, first independent King of Bactria [SLIDE [12]: Diodotus Bactrian stater Obv.]. Equally striking are the resolute portraits of Euthydemus I on his silver tetradrachms [SLIDE [13], [14]: Euthydemus], and the elephant-scalp rendering of his son Demetrius I [SLIDE [15], [16] acclaimed as a conqueror of India. Among lesser-known personalities of the Bactrian coinage we may mention Theophilus [SLIDE [17], [18]: Theophilus tetradrachm], whose powerfully-characterised portrait accompanies a reverse type of the seated Athena derived from issues of Lysimachus [SLIDE [19]: Lysimachus tetradrachm]. I am illustrating today the fabulous gold twenty-stater medallion of Eucratides **[SLIDE I: Eucratides]**, probably struck in Pakistan, and discovered at Merv in Turkmenia. This is the largest, and surely the most spectacular portrait in the whole world of Greek coinage. When examining the coins of the Qunduz Treasure during my visit to Kabul in 1952 **[SLIDE II: Amyntas]**, I was staggered to see no less than five monumental issues of the late Indo-Bactrian ruler Amyntas, whose titles proclaim him as Victorious. These, in turn, were the largest silver coins of Classical Antiquity, and appproach closely in quality the celebrated Eucratideion.

One of my favourite rulers of the Graeco-Bactrian series is the one named Plato [SLIDE [20]: coin of Plato, sideways chariot] [SLIDE [21]: coin of Plato, facing chariot], name of the celebrated philosopher at Athens, but one not often bestowed on later Greek personalities. I have recently argued that there was a recognized connection between the phillosopher at Athens, and the Iranian cult of Mithra. This seems to be borne out by these Bactrian coins. The king Plato, despite an evidently short reign, issued no fewer than three reverse coin-types, all representing a deity easily understood, in Bactria at least, as a depiction of Mithra. He is shown with bare, or helmeted head on the obverse, and on the reverse the sun-chariot, equally assignable to the Greek sun-god Helios, or to the Iranian Mithra, and rendered in three-quarter view, head-on; or with the god standing, radiate, a rare type, known only in the Kabul collection [SLIDE [22]: coin of Plato, standing Mithra].

To the fascinating Graeco-Bactrian coinage, admirably surveyed in the work of Bopearachchi, I need only a add a mention of the celebrated king Menander [SLIDE [23], [24]: Menander coins]. Reportedly born at Alexandria of the Caucasus, the present-day Begram, Menander stabilized the position of the Euthydemid house in the Indo-Greek kingdom, before sustaining an overwhelming attack from his rival Eucratides. His predicament was remembered in the canonical Buddhist text *Milindapañha*. Here, driven to Sāgala, on the eastern boundary of his kingdom, by Eucratides, he is depicted as interlocuted by the Buddhist sage Nāgasena, who advises him to retire into obscurity, and join the Buddhist order as a monk. Though not unsympathetic to the contemplative religion, Menander resolutely

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Symposium on the Heritage of Afghanistan

"If you do not respect the people of your past, how can you respect the people of your present?"- -Dr. Zemaryalai Tarzi (October 15th, 1999, Pasaneda, California)

By Flouran Wali
Oct.-Dec. 1999
Lemar-Aftaab

The Pacific Asia Museum, in conjunction with the International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan (ICSCHA), presented a symposium called "A Prospective Review of the History and Archaeology of Afghanistan from Glory to Plunder" on October 15 and 16 in Pasadena, California.

The two day symposium, attended by over fifty people, was part of the ongoing efforts of both organizations to raise awareness about Afghanistan's rich culture as well as the vulnerability of Afghanistan's cultural treasures. It emphasized past and present archaeology and the current destruction of cultural objects and places. The symposium featured internationally recognized scholars who had conducted extensive research or excavations in Afghanistan throughout the latter part of this century.

Professor David Bivar from the Society for South Asian Studies, British Academy presented "The Significance of Numismatic Studies for Ancient and Modern Afghanistan" which centered on the history of coinage.

Dr. David McDowall, Society of South Asian Studies, British Academy, presented "The Rise of Kushan Empire - Masters of the Silk Road: The Important Numismatic Evidence from Afghanistan."

Dr. Zemaryalai Tarzi, professor of Archaeology from the University of Strasbourg, France and former Director General of Afghan Institute of Archeology in Kabul, presented in French "The Buddhist Past of Afghanistan." His lectured focused on the history of the Buddhists and its influence in Afghanistan. Dr. Tarzi has also discussed the findings of his expeditions in the Hadda site near the eastern city of Jelalabad.

Dr. William Trousdale, Curator Emeritus, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institutions, who had conducted archaeological serves in the 1970s in the region of Sistan in the province of Nimroz, gave a presentation on "The Islamic Dynasties of Sistan, Afghanistan." Dr. Trousdale's lecture focused on the history, architecture and lives of the many dynasties such as the Saffarid that reigned in the region.

Dr. Linda Komaroff, from the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, presented "Power and Poetry: Some Thoughts on the Art and Architecture of the Timurid Period (1370 -1507)." Dr. Komaroff's paper considered examples of Timurid visual culture from the master manuscript painter Behzad. She also discussed the lasting influence that the Timurid Period that centered in Herat had on the surrounding regions throughout Afghanistan, Iran, Central Asia and India.

Dr. Donald Stadtner presented "Shahi Sculpture Revisited." His paper discussed the smuggling and

duplication of the Shahi sculptures found in the Kabul and surrounding provinces.

Ms. Mehria Rafiq Mustamandy, President of International Committee for the Salvation of the Cultural Heritage of Afghanistan, presented her lecture on "The Demise of Ancient Treasure of Afghanistan". She discussed current status of the destruction and the traffic of artifacts in Afghanistan.

Dr. Jonathan Lee, British scholar and author, presented "Afghanistan's Cultural Heritage After Two Decades of War". Dr. Lee's lectured discussed the result of the Afghan-Soviet war and of the current civil war that has created havoc on the monuments and archaeological sites in the western, central and northern provinces of Afghanistan. Dr. Lee also focused on the artwork of the 19th and 20th centuries and concluded that the material culture of Afghanistan has suffered serious and widespread degradation due to pillage, neglect, and, in some cases, incautious but well-meaning attempts at preservation and restoration. He stated that "the future is bleak."

Dr. Alef Shah Zadran from the Society for the Preservation of Afghanistan's Cultural lectured on the Mir Zakah site in the province of Pakita and the plunder that has occurred in the site and the possible preservation of those archaeological finds.

The current wave of destruction forced the very soul of Afghan cultural property to be sold in Pakistan to the international art market. To safeguard the historical heritage of Afghanistan, the idea of an Afghan museum in Switzerland has been born. This Afghan museum will collect the remaining artifacts and will temporally preserve and display them until the civil war in Afghanistan has stabilized. Once the civil war comes to an end and stability has been insured, they will be transferred back to Afghanistan under the aid and protection of the National UNESCO Commissions of two countries.

Afghans in Switzerland should be commended in their joined efforts in construction of the museum. Asef Alemyar, a young Afghan architect trained in Switzerland, has drawn plans for the museum. Along with Alemyar, many other Afghan craftsmen and artists have offered and started work free of charge on the Afghan Museum. Many Afghan businessmen and Afghan leaders inside and outside of Afghanistan have and are supporting this project.

Ms. Mehria Rafiq Mustamandy and Mr. David Kamansky are to be highly commended for bringing together distinguished scholars on Afghan archaeology and history and in bringing awareness to the plight of Afghanistan's heritage and culture.

If these measures are not taken and awareness is not shown, what will be left to the future generations of Afghans if all Afghanistan's treasures and traditions are robbed and sold on international markets to foreign countries?

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